

A N

1832.

ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
Court of Portugal,

Under the Reign of the present King

Dom P E D R O II.

W I T H

Some Discourses on the Interests  
of *P O R T U G A L*, with Re-  
gard to other Sovereigns ;

C O N T A I N I N G

A Relation of the most Considera-  
ble Transactions that have pass'd of  
late between that Court, and those of  
*Rome, Spain, France, Vienna, England,*  
&c.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for *Thomas Bennet*, at the *Half-Moon*  
in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, 1700.





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THE  
CONTENTS.

PART I.

<b>O</b> F the King of Portugal.	Page 3
Of the Publick Revenues, and the Forces of the Crown, both by Land and Sea.	19
Of His Majesty's first Queen.	43
Of the late Queen.	109
Of the Queen Dowager of England.	125
Of the late Infanta.	128
Of the King's Issue by his second Marriage.	148
Of his Natural Daughter.	160
Of the Ministry.	164
Of the Marquess of Alegrete.	165
Of the Duke of Cadaval.	171
Of the Archbishop of Lisbon.	172
Of the Marquess of Aronches.	178
Of the Secretary of State.	179

Part



# The Contents.

## P A R T. II.

<b>O</b> <i>F the Interests of Portugal with Relation</i>	<b>Page 1</b>
<i>to Rome.</i>	
<i>To Spain.</i>	<b>44</b>
<i>France.</i>	<b>62</b>
<i>The Emperor, Holland, the Northern Crowns,</i>	
<i>&amp;c.</i>	<b>114</b>
<i>England.</i>	<b>119</b>

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OF

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T H E  
P R E F A C E.

**T**HE Contents of the following Papers, were intended to fill some few Chapters, in a General Account of Portugal ; but the Author in digesting his Materials, found them like to swell into almost as great a Volume as he design'd for the whole, which made him resolve to venture them out by themselves, as despairing of being read, should the Bulk become so great, as the taking in of the other Parts of his Subject wou'd make it. This is the true Reason why the Court of Portugal appears thus unaccompanied with such other Matters as shou'd have been plac'd before and after it ; which is what the Author was far from designing, when he first began to write ; It was then, for many Reasons, the least in his Intention, to single out the Court, from that great Variety of Subjects which Portugal affords to one that is not altogether an idle Spectator in it.

It is true, that he thought it convenient in describing the State of that Kingdom, to be more full in this part of his Account, than they  
A
usually



usually are, who write of Foreign Countries : For to understand the Affairs of any Nation, it is absolutely necessary to have some competent Knowledge of the Court ; that is to say, of such as preside themselves at the Helm, or have any great Influence upon those that do ; The Court, in this sense, being to a Politick Body, what the Mind is to the Natural, communicating Life and Motion to all the Members ; and as that Vital Principle appears to be disposed, or affected, one may soonest discover the Symptoms of a Vigorous, or a Weakly Constitution : And one who is well acquainted with the State of That, may be enabled to give a good Account of the Publick Proceedings, by tracing them to their Original Causes and Motives ; and may, withal, make some probable Conjecture, what they are like to be in any suppos'd Case, for the time to come.

It was likewise thought necessary, in order to understand the true State of Portugal, to know in what Terms that Kingdom stands with its several Neighbours ; those more especially, in whose Will or Power it is to do any great Good or Harm. Now the best way to know, how far Portugal is to expect either the one or the other from them, is by considering what it hath receiv'd already ; former Experience being the surest Evidence in this Case. It is therefore the Design of those Discourses, that make the Second Part of this Piece, to shew how  
Por-

## The P R E F A C E. iii

*Portugal hath been served by its real or pretended Friends, as often as they have been put to the Trial, or had any occasion to discover themselves ; and it is conceiv'd, that the Transactions that have pass'd between this, and other Crowns, since the House of Bragança came to be in possession of the Throne, are set in a just Light, so far at least, as that the Reader may easily perceive, what the true Interests of Portugal are ; and whether, or no, they have been duly cultivated, by such as have the Management of Affairs in that Kingdom.*

*But the chief Business of this Preface, is to justify the Author's Credit with the Reader ; which may possibly be called in question, in regard to several Particulars, in the following Account. He is far from the Folly of thinking himself exempt from Mistakes ; it is very likely, that he may have been guilty of many, in that great variety of Matters which he hath had occasion to mention. He does not remember, that he ever saw any Relation of our English Affairs, made by Strangers, that had not many palpable Errors in it ; which makes him the less confident of his own Performance : And he expects the like Allowances, that are usually made to those that write of Foreign Countries. However, he must acknowledge at the same time, that those grosser Faults that are commonly observ'd in ordinary Travellers, wou'd be much more inexcusable in him ; he*



*having liv'd for some Years in the Country he writes of, his Acquaintance was amongst intelligent Persons, who had lived there much longer ; he hath been somewhat conversant with the Portuguese Authors, and hath brought away with him a Collection of such of them as are most esteem'd ; and out of these last, he is ready to produce his Evidence, for such Passages in this Piece, as are most likely to be call'd in question.*

*In relating that great Transaction, wherein His present Majesty's first Queen had so large a share, he hath taken the principal Matters of Fact, from the Catastrophe de Portugal, written in Defence of the Party which got the Upper-hand ; the Substance whereof, as the Writer pretends, was read before the Three Estates of the Kingdom. It is true, that Reflections very different from his, are frequently made here upon the very same Facts ; The Author, on many Occasions, as little approving of that Writers Sentiments, as he does of his Stile throughout the Book ; which is that of a most passionate and furious Declaimer, rather than a just Historian. In speaking of the Portuguese Affairs ; with relation to Rome, he hath likewise made great use of the Publick Acts of the King, and the Estates, as also of the Conde da Eryceiras Portugal Restaura-do. He hath also followed the same Noble Author, in what he relates concerning the Nego-*  
tations

# The P R E F A C E.

v

*tations with the Court of France. The Conde had Opportunities to inform himself of these Matters at the best Hand ; that is, from the Reports and Letters of Publick Ministers : His Lordship hath indeed given us in England great occasion to complain of him ; but that may have been for Reasons, which will never make him suspected of being much prejudiced against either Rome, or France. Cardinal Mazarine's Conduct, in the Cause of Portugal, at the Pirenees, is describ'd from his own Letters. The Information received by the Author, concerning the great part which the English had, in the Victories obtain'd over the Spaniards, and in concluding the Peace, and consequently in establishing the Portuguese Throne, was such, that he could desire no better. He hath taken some Particulars about the intended Match between the late Infanta, and the Duke of Savoy, as it was transacted at Turin, from the famous Gregorio Leti : But he hath spoken dubiously of them ; tho' if that Writer be of any Credit, he may be believed, as to things done at Turin, he having lived so long as he did in the Neighbourhood. There are some things likewise in the Chapter of Spain, borrowed from him, Leti pretending to a Personal Acquaintance with the Duke of Giovinazzo. In the Chapter concerning the Ministry, and elsewhere, he hath made some use, and but little, of a Memoir in French, which*



*which was handed about in Manuscript, at Lisbon, written, as 'twas said, by a German, that was Secretary to the late Queen; but he is too severe in his Censures, to be much follow'd by one that would not be thought satyrical. He hath cause to fear, that his Account of the Customs and Taxes, is neither so exact, nor so full, as he could wish, he being little acquainted with those Matters; however, he shew'd it to one whose Business it was to know them better, who did not discover to him any Error in it. Some may think, that the Portuguese Money, is set against our English, at too low a Rate, the Exchange, of late Years, having run much higher on the Portuguese side; but he is assured by those that are more skilful than himself, that he hath justly reckon'd it, according to the intrinsick Value. There is nothing material said, concerning the Croisade Bull, that is not taken out of the Bull it self, and the Papers publish'd by the Commissary, by Authority from the Pope; this, and another Bull, with some more Authentick Papers, should have been placed at the End of the Book, had there been room for them: But they shall be forthcoming, whenever it is thought convenient. The Transactions between Xavier, and her late Majesty, have been related upon the Credit of the Authors mention'd on that occasion. The Jesuits Address is faithfully translated only it was forgot to give necessary Directions*  
to

## The P R E F A C E. vii

*to the Compositor, to put Breaches in several places, the Orator making a great many more Flourishes, to the like purpose with those set down, but they are past over, lest he should appear tedious ; however, this Omission hath occasion'd little or no alteration in the Sense ; great care was taken in the Translation, not to pervert his Meaning, by the least Turn of Expression, tho' in one Passage it cost some Pains to make him speak English in modest Terms. The Relation of the Deceased Prince's Investiture in the Universal Monarchy, is wholly Padre Vieira's own : It is indeed very much contracted ; but 'tis hoped, that his Sense is not much obscured ; and it is given, for the most part, in a literal Translation of his own Words. The Reader may wonder to see this Father brought in upon the Stage so often as he is ; which, in truth, is so very often, that his Name is sometimes suppressed : And some may think it unfair, to insist so much upon the Whimsies of one Man, since from Relations of this kind, People commonly form their Notions of the general Character and Genius of a whole Nation. But the Author is far from being Conscious to himself of any dissingenuous Dealing in this respect ; one great Reason why he thought fit to single out Padre Vieira, from amongst several other of the famous Preachers in Portugal, whose Works are now by him, was, because he wou'd give for a*  
Speci-



viii      The P R E F A C E.

Specimen, *the very best of the kind, as Padre Vieira is generally acknowledg'd to be by his Country-men ; insomuch, that perhaps there never was a Preacher so universally, or so highly approv'd of in Portugal, by all Orders and Degrees of Men ; and the Reason commonly given for his being so much esteem'd is, because he was one of the least guilty of those prodigious Extravagancies which Strangers are so much astonish'd at in the Sermons of other Preachers ; tho' the Truth is, one wou'd take that particular Instance now mention'd, to be both an Original, and a Nonsuch.*

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A N  
 ACCOUNT  
 OF THE  
 Court of *PORTUGAL*,  
 UNDER THE  
 REIGN  
 Of the Present KING,  
**Dom Pedro II.**

**T**HIS present Account of the *Portuguese* Court, is confin'd to the Royal Family, and such of the Ministers as are suppos'd to have a more than ordinary Share in the Direction of Affairs : Other Matters being reserv'd for a more General Account of the Kingdom and Government.

The Subject of this, is commonly the most taken notice of, in Relations from Foreign Countries ; and will therefore be more enlarg'd upon

B than



than hath been usual in Works of a like Nature: For which, as it is hoped, the Dignity of the Persons to be spoken of, and the Importance, or at least the Novelty of the Matters to be related, may serve for an Excuse.

There will perhaps be occasion for some such Apology, in several of the following Chapters; but if it be any where needless, it is certainly in the first. The K I N G, since his being settled in the Government, having obtain'd a Character in the World, that is so Fair in it self, and stands in so little need of Shading, that none can with Reason think amiss of an Endeavour to draw it at full Length, and to set it in a just Light.

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## Of the K I N G.

**H**IS Title is, *The High and Mighty Prince, Dom PEDRO the Second, by the Grace of GOD, King of Portugal, and of the Algarves, on this, and on the other side of the Sea, in Africa; Lord of Guiné, and of the Conquest, Navigation, Commerce, of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia; and of India, with an &c.*

He was born the 26th of *April*, 1648. He took upon him the Government, with the Title of Prince-Regent, the 23d of *November*, 1667; when King Dom *Alfonso* the Sixth, his elder Brother, was Dethron'd; and he succeeded to the Crown at the Death of that King, which happened on the 12th of *December*, 1683.

He is of a robust and vigorous Constitution, tall of Person, somewhat above the ordinary size, and proportionably big; of wonderful Strength, and great Activity of Body, as appears still by the Proof he makes of both, at his ordinary Exercises and Diversions. He is of a grave and comely Aspect, hath nothing of Haughtiness in his Looks; but on the contrary, such an Air of Modesty, as may be thought unusual in Persons of his Rank: He appears somewhat uneasy, when gaz'd upon by a Multitude; and one may discern a little Disorder in his Countenance, when he is Speaking in Publick, to such as he is not used to. He wears a long black Perruque; and when he appears in Publick, is always habited in Black, with a Cloak, and long Lace-Band, which is the



common Wear, among People of any Fashion, about the Town. At other times he goes without a Cloak, and in colour'd Cloaths, made after the *French* Mode; unless it be whilst a *Pragmatica*, prescribing the Fashion, is in force, (as he hath several times published Edicts to that purpose); for then the King's Cloaths are made after the Pattern he would have follow'd by his Subjects. 'Till *English* black Cloth was allow'd of, His Majesty usually wore *Cotchester-Bays*.

This Prince is of a quick Apprehension, and a piercing Judgment, sensible, thoughtful, and inclinable to Melancholy, which of late Years hath grown much upon him; upon what occasion, I cannot pretend to determine.

He is a very Religious Prince, being constantly observant of the Set-Times and Seasons of Devotion: Is often heard, by those that are near him, saying over his *Ave-Maries*, and *Pater-Nosters*, to himself. He shews a great Zeal for the Conversion of Infidels to Christianity, and is at great Charges in sending out Missionaries, and sometimes Ships on purpose for that end. Nor doth he think it below him, to concern himself in bringing over to the *Romish* Religion, such as he hath been taught to call Hereticks, be the Persons never so mean. But above all, he is exceeding charitable; and, as I have it from good Hands, expends large Sums that way.

He is very temperate in his Diet, eats commonly alone, and sometimes (as they say) sitting on the Floor, according to the ancient Custom of the Country; (which the Women observe to this Day) with a flat piece of Cork under him, seldom more than one Attendant waiting on him while he eats. His Meals are extreamly moderate,

rate, and provided as for a single Person. His constant Drink is Water ; for he never uses any strong Liquors. He hath so great an Aversion to Wine, that he doth not only refrain from it himself, but obliges all about him to a like Abstinence. Such of the Nobility, or others, that have drunk Wine, must keep from Court that Day : For His Majesty would discover them by the Smell, and not fail to signify his Displeasure. Nor doth he find it difficult to make himself obey'd in this Point ; People of this Country, Persons of Quality more especially, and, indeed, all that have the least regard to their Credit, being very shy of drinking Wine : And, I believe, there is no People in *Europe*, less addicted, to that most inexcusable Vice of Drunkenness, than they are.

I can say nothing in Commendation of this King's Temperance of another sort ; there being certain forbidden Pleasures, that are too much allow'd of in *Portugal* : In which, if common Report, among his Subjects, be to be credited, he hath indulg'd himself very much : And they say, he has not been wholly free from the Inconveniences consequent to such a Practice. I never heard, that he hath had any declared Favourite of the Sex, unless it were one *French-Woman* ; who had that Title, for some time, at least, among the People : But those he hath had this Commerce with, are said to be of the lowest Rank (the *French-Woman* excepted), and very many, and not all of the same Colour. He hath not, as yet, acknowledg'd any unlawful Issue, save one Daughter, whose Mother was a mean Person.



He hath not been brought up to Letters; some say, we may use the Term in the strictest Sense: But 'tis certain, the Publick Dispatches are neatly sign'd with his own Hand. However, considering the manner of his Education, he can have but little of what we generally call Learning, yet he speaks *Spanish* very well; and uses that Language as often as he is address'd to in it by Foreigners. And as for his Native Tongue, it is said, That there is scarce a Person in the Kingdom that speaks it more Properly, or with greater Elegance: And he hath so well improved himself by Practice, that Foreign Ministers do much admire his great Capacity for Business. They find in their Addresses to him; which, in this Court, they have frequent occasion to make; that he comprehends with much ease, the Matter they propose, whatsoever it be; and will, upon the Spot, discourse with them readily about it: He speaks always to the Purpose, and answers to the Point; and if need be, will manage the Matter with as great Dexterity as any of them.

Among other Inconveniences that attend his being unacquainted with Books, this is none of the least; that instead of those more pleasant Amusements, that delight and recreate the Mind, his Diversions consist most in Bodily Exercises; or if the Time does not serve for them, when the Business of the Day is over, He, instead of such Conversation as may be thought more fit to entertain a Prince, admits into his Presence, not only the younger Nobility, but Persons of a much inferiour Rank, who divert His Majesty with the News and Intrigues of the Town: And they say, That when any thing remarkable happens, or is talk'd of among the People, of any  
Sort,

Sort, or Nation, His Majesty is sure to have the Story brought him at Night. But at Times of more Leisure, his ordinary Recreations are Hunting, Shooting, Riding, and this last commonly at the Bull. Going a Hunting, or Shooting, he hath used to take his Queen along with him, to partake of the Sport ; and the Time between *Christmas* and *Lent*, is always set-apart for these Diversions ; to which end, the Court removes, at that Season, to *Salvaterra*, a Country-House in *Alemtejo*, about ten Leagues from *Lisbon*. But above all other Recreations, the King takes a singular Delight in Riding ; he manages a Horse so well, that there is scarce a Master in his Kingdom better skill'd in the Art ; tho' here, almost every Body that is able to keep a Horse, learns to Ride. His Majesty hath a Court on purpose for this Exercise, belonging to his Palace at *Lisbon* ; but he indulges himself most at *Alcantara*, a House of Pleasure, a little way out of Town ; where he often enjoys himself at his beloved Exercise of Riding with his Lance at the Bull, Performing with admirable Dexterity and Conduct. Nor is he content to deal with that fierce Animal on Horseback, but he frequently engages him a Foot ; to this end he hath a small piece of Ground, enclos'd with void Spaces in the Wall on every side, big enough for His Majesty to escape through, when the Bull proves too hard for him, as he sometimes does, to the endangering of his Person ; tho' upon the least appearance of a Discomposure, the Company is ready to come in to his Rescue : And on such Occasions, one shall see the main Body of the Nobility engag'd about the Bull, every one seizing him by that Part he can first lay hold on,



whether it be by the Horns, the Neck, or the Tail. 'Tis true, the King of late hath not used this Exercise so frequently as formerly ; not that he finds any failure of his former Strength or Vigour, but because of the Queen's great Tenderness for his Person : For Her Majesty would sometimes, when she heard the King was thus employ'd, take Coach presently, and drive to *Alcantara* ; and upon her arrival the Sport was at an end.

The King never fails to be present at the public Bull-runings all the three Days, which is the time this Feast usually lasts : Perhaps his Compliance in this, as that of *Augustus* was on the like Occasions, may be as much to please the People as Himself : For the *Portugueses*, from the highest to the lowest, are strangely fond of the Sport. It hath been an ancient Custom, which is still kept up, for the Chamber of *Lisbon* to entertain the People with this Sight, in Honour to St. *Anthony*, the Son and Patron of the City ; and, in Gratitude, for the Birth of an *Infante*, a Pretence which the King of late hath furnished them with almost every Year : Tho' it is thought one Reason may be the raising of a considerable Sum of Money, which they make by the Scaffolds that are built about a very large Square, before the Palace, which are all sure to be fill'd ; for at the News of a Bull-running, the People come flocking in from all parts of the Country round about. The King has a fine Balcony built for him out of one of the Palace-Windows, where he sits all the time with his Queen, and the young Princes, attended by a Nobleman ; who receives his Orders, and delivers them out at another Window, for the Conduct of the Cavalier, and the Management of the Bulls. His Majesty, tho' he

he sits compos'd all the while, yet is so intent upon the Sport, that he is sometimes heard by those in the Seats under him, applauding the Cavalier, when he hath given a lucky Stroke; and one that comes off with Credit, shall the next Day be received by him in the most kind and obliging manner, and may depend afterwards on his Favour.

But there lies a great Complaint against His Majesty on this occasion: That he, for his own private Diversion, abates much of the Satisfaction the People would otherwise take: For before the Bulls appear in Publick, the King, on pretence of trying what Metal they are made of, will have them to *Alcantara*, where they are commonly so harra's'd out, that very few of them will make head against the Cavalier; and when a sprightly Bull appears, that is likely to make them Sport, and do Mischief, the King will sometimes order him to be taken in again, and reserved for his own use: This sets the People a murmuring. A happy People, were this the greatest Grievance they had to complain of! And, in truth, it seems to be one of the greatest they can lay to their King's Charge, or that appears to him to be in his Power to redress.

For tho' the Opinions of Men are various concerning the Cause and Manner of his first taking upon him the Government, yet it is generally agreed, that in the Administration thereof, he hath all along shewn himself to be most tenderly careful of his Peoples Welfare, and in his whole Conduct, to have highly deserved the Character that is giv'n him, of a truly just and good Prince. I confess, it would be somewhat difficult, to reconcile to this Character, some former Transactions.



ctions, wherein his Name was much made use of; but then it must be considered, that while those things, which are most liable to Censure, were transacted, he was very young, and in the hands of others. But in what relates to the Administration of the Government, I find, upon the exactest Enquiry I could make, People of all Parties to be generally agreed in their Opinions concerning him; and in *Portugal* they take as great a Liberty in speaking their Minds of their Superiours, as in any other Country whatsoever: But they have here so high an Esteem for their King, that if they blame any thing in his Conduct, it is his not making use of his great Power, so often as they could wish; they think he pays too great a Deference to his Counsellors, and to these they impute all the Hardships they suffer. The same thing is taken Notice of by Foreigners, and reckon'd to be the Cause of any false Steps this Court may have taken, inconsistent with the Honour and true Interests of the Crown. But it is a Fault the wisest Men are guilty of, to have too great a distrust of themselves. And this King, they say, is perswaded to do nothing of Importance, without the Advice and Concurrence of his Ministers, as thinking it the safest Course he can take for the Discharge of his Conscience.

He is a Religious Observer of Justice, and has thereby delivered his Kingdom from many great Disorders, that it before labour'd under. Robberies on the High-Way are now seldom, or never heard of, notwithstanding the universal Poverty that appears throughout the Country; and 'tis said, that before this Reign, 'twas unsafe for any to be abroad in the Evening, about, and within the City it self.

Murders

Murders are not near so frequent now as formerly, the King growing every Day more and more severe against the Guilty : And in truth, there was great occasion for it, Crimes of this Nature being very lightly made of in this Country, if committed in a Fray, or upon the slightest Provocation : A former Grudge, tho' of old standing, was used to be taken for a justifiable Excuse, even when the Murder was committed in the most cowardly and treacherous manner ; the Criminal was acquitted, or sued out his Pardon of Course, or fled to Sanctuary ; and being once there, procur'd a *Carta de Seguro* , which is a Protection given by the Government, for one that hath the Priviledge of Sanctuary, to appear abroad and solicit his Cause ; whereby he has an opportunity given him to compound with his Prosecutors, or by other means to take off, or elude the Pursuit of Justice. But now *Cartas de Seguro* are more rarely granted, and Criminals are oftentimes forc'd from Sanctuary. Such Order is taken for preserving the Peace, that a Man may pass through the City at any time of Night, without meeting with the least Affront or Disturbance : Formerly the City was much infested, and great Disorders committed by Night-Walkers of all Ranks and Orders, from those of the first Quality, down to the very Fryars. It is reported of an old Porter, belonging to a certain Convent, that he uses to tell with Regret, how mightily the Times are altered, from what they were in his Days ; when a Dozen, or more, Fryars, of his Convent, would sally out in a Night upon Adventures : And there must be something in it, that there goes a common Say-  
ing



ing among the People, That *it is equally dangerous to deal with a Fryar by Night, as with a Fidalgo by Day.* The Reason usually given for it is: That in a Night-Scuffle the Fryar will be sure to stand as stoutly to it, because he is not known, as a Fidalgo wou'd in the Day-time because he is. But now all things are still and quiet, the Clatterings of Swords and Targets, which formerly used to be ever and anon disturbing Peoples Rest, are seldom heard; except it be on such Nights, when People of all Sorts and Sexes, are let loose to visit the Churches; but those are Times of Indulgence, and they take a Liberty then to commit all manner of Wickedness.

The *Fidalgo's* (a Title common to such as are of Noble Families) who us'd to look upon themselves as above the Law, or beyond its reach, are now in a great measure reduc'd to order, Justice has its Course among them, as well as the meanest Subjects. Elderly People represent them as a sort of petty Tyrants, exercising with great Barbarity, a kind of Despotick Power, over the Lives, and all that belong'd to those about them. But if there were any Grounds for such a Character, this King's Government can never sufficiently be commended, who hath wrought so great a Reformation among them, that there may be found, at this Day, as Noble Instances of Humanity, and Courtesie, in *Portugal*, as in any part of *Europe*.

Three times a Week the King gives Audience to his Subjects, *Tuesdays* and *Thursdays* to all in general, that desire it; *Saturdays* to his Nobility, and Officers of State in particular: And this is the Morning's-work of each Day. On the Days of general Audience, the meanest Subject may have free

free Access to the King, whether it be to acquaint him of their Grievances, to beg his Charity, or *Requerer Servicos*, as they call it ; that is, to petition for a Pension on pretence of Service ; and Service is pretended, not only by those that have done any thing for the Advantage of the Publick, or the Crown ; but likewise by such as have been for any time in Employment ; which they think entitles them to a Pension, or a better Place. His Majesty hears all with great Attention and Patience, will let the Petitioner perceive he understands his Case, and will remember him when he comes again, and few part from his Presence dissatisfied.

The currant Money of this Kingdom was so miserably clipt, that it was diminished to near half the Value ; as appears by an Order made by the Government, That no Pieces of Eight should pass, that weighed less than four Rials and a half : But now it is all reduc'd to a just Standard ; to which end, it being found necessary to Re-coin all the Money, both Gold and Silver, the King, for the Ease of the poorer sort, took the Loss of the Silver upon himself.

The Publick Revenues are managed to the best Advantage : The Accounts, which were formerly all in Confusion, are said to be reduc'd into an exact Order, and kept with great Regularity. The Customs, and Imposts, are let out to Farm to Merchants ; the Contractor is he that will bid most, Native, or Foreigner : The King, it seems, thinking, that Merchants, who know best how to deal with one another, can afford to give him more than he could make of them himself ; and his Customs are said to be much improv'd by this Method : For the King takes Care to make his Advantage



vantage of the Farmer's Diligence. The Contract never exceeds the Term of Three Years ; which expir'd, an exact Account is taken from the Entries in the Custom-House, of the Gains that have been made, and regard had thereto at the next Auction ; and the Price, through the Emulation of the Bidders, is often rais'd much higher than was look'd for.

A Course not unlike this is taken, when the King has occasion to furnish his Magazines with Stores, or wants any Foreign Commodities ; of which Publick Notice is given to the Merchants, and the Bargain is made with him that will take care to procure them at the lowest Rate. The King is so punctual and speedy in his Payments, that the Merchants are encouraged to deal with him for little Profit ; so that they are never wanting to under-bid each other : And I have been told, that sometimes the King has generously put a stop to them, when in the Heat of Contention they have been descending below a just Price ; His Majesty, it seems, thinking it unbecoming him, to take Advantage at other Mens Follies. By this means he has his Stores always at the best hand, and no Under-Officers being employ'd in buying them in, he never suffers by their Knavery, nor can he be cheated by the Merchant who delivers them into his Magazines ; for it is always a Condition in the Bargain, That a fair Trial shall be made of the Goods, and no more paid for, than will bear the Proof.

The Revenues of the Kingdom are so very great, that did they all come into the King's Hands, he would be one of the richest Princes in *Europe*, as will appear by the following Chapter. But so many Assignments are made upon  
almost

almost every Branch of them, (the King's private Patrimony, as Duke of *Bragança*, not excepted) so many Pensions paid to particular Persons and Families, that they seem almost wholly diverted from the Publick Treasury. This extravagant Alienation of the Revenues, was set on foot, 'tis thought, by the *Spanish* Kings; and that in prosecution of their Design, to reduce *Portugal* into the form of a Province; they supposing, that if the Rents of the Crown were dissipated, *Portugal* could no longer subsist as an independant Kingdom; as not having wherewithal to support the Government, or encourage any great Men to head them, in case the People were dispos'd to a Revolt, while the Royal Revenues being divided among private Families, might oblige all that shar'd in the Spoils, to adhere to the *Castilian* Interest. It hath been often laid to the Charge of the Three *Philips*, That they did their utmost to weaken the Crown of *Portugal*, while they had it in possession; they are accus'd of little less, than consenting to the *Hollanders* seizing upon the *Portuguese* Conquests in the *East* and *West-Indies*; and all in pursuance of that Maxim of *Philip* the Second, *That it is much better to be Master of a ruin'd and quiet Kingdom, than one that is rich, powerful, and turbulent.* *John* the Fourth, this King's Father, when from Duke of *Bragança*, he was made King of *Portugal*, by the Nobility and People, thought fit to accept of the Crown with all its Incumbrances, and it was not for his Interest to make himself so many Enemies as must have been impoverish'd, had he re-united the alienated Revenues to the Crown: So that he was fain to maintain his Government, and carry on the War, by extraordinary



dinary Imposts upon the People ; these have been since increas'd, and the Assignments multiply'd. And this King, tho' perhaps there never was a more frugal Prince in his Domestick Management ; (for, they say, he knows what every part of his wearing Apparel costs him, and will strive as hard as the poorest Customer to beat down the Price) ; yet by giving way to his generous Inclinations to do good to others, he has so impoverish'd himself, that he is hard put to it to bear the Charges of the Government ; which, as 'tis thought, could scarce subsist, were any other but himself at the Helm, especially at this Juncture, when he is at such extraordinary Expences in making new Levies, and equipping out his Fleet. The People are already so charg'd with Imposts, that nothing further can be expected from them : For tho' they have had great Advantages by a free Trade, during the late War ; yet the Money being convey'd out of the Kingdom, by such ways as shall be mention'd in another place, their Condition is not much mended thereby. That this is the present Case of the Kingdom, will appear from two Instances of a very fresh Date : The King is, as all the World knows, at this time, putting his Kingdom in a Posture of Defence ; to this end, among other things, it was thought convenient to secure *St. Julian's* Castle, which stands upon the Bar of the *Tagus*, and guards the Entrance into the River, and is, in effect, the main Bulwark of *Lisbon* ; or rather, the Key to the whole Kingdom. It is strongly built after the Modern Way, and well fortified with Guns ; but hath this Disadvantage, that it may be commanded on one side from a Rising Ground that is near it. It was therefore debated

bated in Council, Whether it were cheapest to level that Ground, or to raise a small Fort upon it? But after the Place had been survey'd, it was at last concluded, That both Ways were too chargeable, either of them requiring a greater Expence than the State could well bear, and so neither way was taken. From this Instance, which came from a good Hand, it appears, that the Exchequer must run very low at this time. And that the People can afford but small Supplies, will appear from hence: The King, to enable himself to augment and maintain his Army, summon'd the *Cortes*, or Parliament, to meet at *Lisbon*, the First of *December*, 97: All that he demanded of them, was an Additional Revenue of 600000 Crowns; a Crown in *Portugal*, is scarce worth Half a Crown *English*. The Parliament considering the Occasion, could not but acknowledge the Request to be reasonable; but then, how to raise the Money, was a matter of insuperable difficulty: In short, they sat down, as hath been said, the First of *December* 97, and were sitting in *July* 98, and were considering all the while, of Ways and Means, and had made no Progress in the Affair; but, at last, they referr'd it to the King, to lay the Tax as he should judge convenient: For their parts, tho' none could be insensible of the King's great want of a Supply, yet they found the People so burden'd already, that they knew not how to lay on them any further Weight, without danger of their sinking under it. The King, as hath been reported since, has laid the Tax upon Tobacco; which, the Merchant thinks, is the ready way to destroy that Trade, and consequently the best and clearest part of the Revenue.



The most considerable Transactions of this Reign, will fall under some of the following Heads, and therefore I have nothing further to add in this Chapter ; but that the King of *Portugal* is an Absolute Prince, having the Legislative, as well as the Executive Power in his hands : For the Royal Edicts have the Force of Laws, and a Collection of these, is much the same thing there, as our Statute-Book is in *England* ; when these fail, the Civil Law takes place. There are indeed certain Constitutions chiefly relating to the Succession, called the Laws of *Lamego*, made by the *Cortes* at the first Institution of the Government, which cannot be dispens'd with, but by Consent of the Three Estates. It belongs likewise to the *Cortes*, to lay Taxes upon the People, tho' certain Imposts that are now upon Flesh and Wine, and were given for a limited time, have been continued, by the King's Authority, and the Pope's together ; the manner in which this was done, shall be told in the following Chapter.

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*Of the Publick Revenues, and the  
Forces of the Crown, by Land and  
Sea.*

**B**Efore I speak of the Revenues, &c. it is requisite to give an Account of the Money currant in this Kingdom. All considerable Sums are here reckoned by *Millreis*, i. e. Thousand of *Reis*; sometimes by *Crusado's*, or Crowns, which consist of 400 *Reis* a piece. Tho' great Payments are commonly made in *Spanish Pieces of Eight*, which are reckon'd at 750 *Reis*. There is no such Piece as a *Millrei*, nor indeed a Crown at present; for that which was last coyn'd for a Crown-piece, is now rais'd to 480 *Reis*. Lesser Coyns in Silver, are a *Teston*, 100 *Reis*; a half *Teston*, 50 *Reis*; a *Vintain*, 20 *Reis*. The Gold Coyn called the *Moeda de Ouro*, contains 4800 *Reis*, of which there are likewise Half and Quarter-pieces.

The *Portuguese* Money, according to the intrinsic Value, answers to our *English* Money thus:

	s.	d.	q.
A Millrei, i. e. 1000 Reis, to	05	10	00
A Crown, 400 Reis,	02	04	00
A Teston, 100 Reis,	00	07	00
A half Teston, 50 Reis,	00	03	02
A Vintain, 20 Reis,	00	01	01 $\frac{3}{5}$
The <i>Moeda</i> of Gold, 4800 Reis, makes	28	s.	



The Revenues arise chiefly from Customs, Taxes, Monopolies, Rents belonging to the Orders of Knighthood, and Moneys raised purely by the Pope's Bulls.

The Customs paid here, are excessively great ; all Foreign Commodities, excepting some few sorts of small Bulk, and easie Conveyance, pay no less than 23 *per Cent*, 20 for the ordinary Custom, and 3 for a certain Duty call'd the *Consulado* ; which last is likewise paid for all Goods exported, whether by Natives, or Foreigners. They are indeed set at a favourable Valuation, except Fish from *Newfoundland*, which pays 22 *per Cent* in Specie. Goods brought hither, in order only to be transported to other Countries, pay 4 *per Cent*. But it is believed, that nothing of all this comes to the King, or indeed to the Publick, the *Consulado* excepted, which is appropriated to the building of Ships, and buying in of Stores.

The Taxes are 7 *Reis per Pound*, upon all Flesh brought into the Market, and as much *per Canada* upon Wine, sold in by Retail (few People here keep any in their Houses) : A *Canada* holds something less than Three Pints. Fresh Fish, which is caught here in great abundance in the River, and on the Sea-Coasts, and is the best part of the Peoples Food, pays no less than 47 *per Cent* ; and that exacted with great Rigor, and paid commonly in Specie. At the Sale of Lands, Houses, Cattle of all sorts, and indeed of almost every thing that is known to be bought and sold, 10 *per Cent* of the Price goes to the King.

A great part of these Taxes were granted by the Three Estates in *Cortes*, to King *John* the Fourth,

Fourth, in 1641, and at other times, towards the Charges of the War with *Spain*; but after the Peace was made; the *Cortes*, in the Year 1674, rais'd them to what they are at present, by giving the Prince a Supply of a Million of Crowns *per Annum*; one half whereof was to be rais'd by an Additional Impost upon Flesh and Wine: But this was then given only for Six Years; yet it hath been paid ever since. The Court, in the Year 1675, thought convenient to procure the Pope's Consent to this last Impost, that the Clergy might have leave to pay their share; because (as it was given for a Reason) the last *Lateran* Council, and other Canons of their Church, had made it unlawful for any Prince to receive Tribute from the Clergy, without the Pope's leave, even tho' it were voluntarily offer'd by themselves; as this had been by the Ecclesiastical, as well as the two other Estates in *Cortes*. And since that time, at the end of every Sixth Year, a *Breve* hath been procured from *Rome*, for continuing the Taxes for Six Years longer; therein the Pope impowers the *Nuncio* residing at *Lisbon*, to use his Apostolical Authority, in obliging the Clergy to pay them. This *Breve* is of course published in *Portugal*; and tho' it chiefly regards the Clergy, yet it is not unlikely but it may be design'd to induce the People likewise to pay their Taxes quietly, without putting the King, and the Three Estates of the Realm, to the trouble of meeting together in *Cortes*: For it must needs be a great Argument among them, that the thing is but just and reasonable, since the Holy Father consents to, and approves of it; and it weighs much with them, no doubt, when they consider why his Holiness grants the *Breve*;



which, as 'tis declared in the Narrative of it, is, The Exchequers being exhausted by the vast Expences that the Crown hath been continually at, for the maintenance and propagation of the Catholick Faith, in the Dominions abroad, especially in *Brazil*, and the *East-Indies*, where the *Dutch* Hereticks, and other Infidels, were endeavouring to extirpate it : Which Reason is said to continue still, or rather, to become more strongly urgent every time there is occasion for a new *Breve*. The Pope gives Commission to his *Nuncio*, to enquire into the Truth of this, and other Allegations ; as that the Three Estates, the Clergy more especially, have given their Consent ; the *Nuncio* cites the King's Procurator before him, and puts him upon the Proof : He shews, that the Nobility and People have agreed to the continuance of the Taxes, because they still pay them ; and that the whole Body of the Clergy are likewise willing, because the Bishops have given their Consent ; which (as he pretends to prove withal) comprehends that of all the rest. But it does not appear how he makes good the Main Point, *viz.* The Danger that the Catholick Faith is in from the *Dutch* Hereticks, and other Infidels. As for the *Dutch*, they renew'd their Peace with *Portugal* in the Year 1669, and have kept it ever since. However, the *Nuncio* is entirely satisfied with the Proofs, whatever they be ; and thereupon gives order for the Execution of the *Breve*, requiring Obedience thereto from all Persons, Secular as well as Ecclesiastical, upon pain of the greater Excommunication, and 500 Crowns, applicable to the *Reverend Chamber Apostolick*, as the Words of the Order run.

Under

Under the Title of Monopolies, we may reduce the other part of the Supply granted at the same time ; which was an Impost upon Tobacco , made into Snuff ; by which, 500000 Crowns *per Annum*, were design'd to be rais'd. In order to make this Sum, the King had the whole Trade of Snuff put into his own Hands ; and it became almost as great a Crime in *Portugal*, for any to Make Snuff for themselves , as 'tis with us in *England* to Coin Money, tho' People almost universally take it here. This Monopoly was let out to Farm to the Duke of *Cadaval*, the principal Person in the Kingdom, next His Majesty ; and it was so managed, that 'tis said the King receiv'd much more than double the Value of what it was given for : The Tobacco, as it come from *Brazil*, was bought up for the King, at a *Teston* and half, or less, *per Pound*; and sold out in Snuff for 16 or 20, and sometimes more, the best, and 14 the more ordinary sort. But 'tis said, that this Trade is now laid aside, and an Equivalent, with the Advantage of 600 000, tax'd upon Tobacco in Rolls. The King hath likewise in his Hands, a great part of the Trade from Foreign Plantations ; as that of Elephants Teeth, from *Africa* ; of Wood, from *Brazil* : Besides, great Duties upon Sugar ; and of all Goods coming from the *East-Indies*. This last Trade is indeed but of little worth ; for he hath several times offered to make it over to a Company of Merchants, but could never get a sufficient Number of Subscribers.

The King is likewise Grand Master of the Orders of Knighthood, in his Kingdom, and has the disposal of all the *Commenda's* belonging to them, *viz.* of the Order of Christ ; which, in *Portugal*,



succeeded to that of the Knights-Templers, and is still in possession of their Lands, and hath 454 *Commenda's* belonging to it. 2dly, The Order of *St. Jago*, which hath 60 *Commenda's*, and those of considerable Profit. 3dly, Of *Avis*, which hath 43, and these esteem'd very rich. Besides, the King hath the disposal of the *Commenda's* in his Kingdom, that belong to the Knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*, commonly called, the Knights of *Malta*; the chief of which, *viz.* the Priory of *Crato*, accounted one of the richest in the World, is at present bestowed upon Dom *Francisco*, the King's Second Son. I reckon these among the King's Revenues, because they are put to the same use, as the greatest part, by much, of his other Incomes are, *viz.* given away in Pensions, or Rewards, for Services.

But the Kings of *Portugal*, have, for this last Century, made use of one extraordinary way to raise Money; which, among all *Ways* and *Means*, perhaps, hath never been thought of by any other Temporal Prince, the Kings of *Spain* excepted, who first brought it up in this Kingdom; and this is, by selling Indulgences to the People, for the Pardon of their Sins, and the Deliverance of their own, or their Relations, Souls, out of Purgatory. The Popes having been, for some time, shamed out of this Trade, by the Noise that *Luther* made in the World, the Kings of *Spain* thought fit to take it up; and have made more Money of it, with less Scandal. To this end, *Philip* the Second, after he had got Possession of the Crown of *Portugal*, obtained Bulls of Pope *Gregory* the 14th, in the Year 1591; which, since that time, have been publish'd almost every Year in *Portugal*: And the Profits arising from them,

them, are become a part of the Standing Revenues of the Crown: And, indeed, they may well be accounted a very considerable part of them. The Substance of these three Bulls, are all contain'd in one, which carries for Title, *The Bull of the Holy Croisade*: But they are retailed out to the People, under the Names of, *The Bull for the Living*: *The Bull of Composition*: And, *The Bull for the Dead*. They have their general Name from the *Croisade*, as if they were granted for carrying on the *Holy War*; and were we to judge of the Levies, I mean of Money, that are here made, one would think that War was still prosecuted, with as great Vigour, as it was 500 Years ago. It's true indeed, that the Kings of *Portugal*, even since that Expeditions to the *Holy Land* were no more talk'd of, have, for several Ages, been engaged in continual Wars with the Infidels: They had the *Mores*, for some time, in the Bowels of the Kingdom; and having driven them out, follow'd them into *Barbary*, and conquered a great part of that Country, and have some Footing there still; and the Popes would, sometimes, to help them out in the Charges of the War, allow 'em the like Indulgences as were granted in the famous *Croisades*. Yet, in those times, this was done very sparingly, and as an extraordinary Favour. But since the *Portugueses* have had little or nothing to do with the *Mores*, and have now only the single Fortrefs of *Mazagam*, to maintain in *Barbary*, the Popes are become more profuse of their Graces. The *Croisade* is publish'd every Year, and Pardons, and Indulgences, more ample, by far, than were ever granted before, are now offer'd to all that shall contribute towards the Defence of the Places,  
which



which the King is suppos'd to hold in *Africa*. It would be a tedious Task, and not proper for this place, to give an Account of all the Priviledges granted to the Purchasers of these Bulls ; I shall only therefore mention some few, that seem most conducive to the End for which the Bulls were obtain'd. The Bull for the Living, grants to the Purchaser, a *most plenary* (the word is *Plenissima*) *Indulgence*, and a complete Remission of all his Sins, and of the Pains which he should have suffered for them in Purgatory. These are the Words of the Absolution to be pronounced upon him after Confession ; and this Pardon is, in all respects, as full as if he had gone to *Rome* for it, in the Year of *Jubilee* : And one that hath bought this Bull, may, if he pleases, after six Months, for a single *Vintain*, have all renewed to him over again ; so that as the Commissary deputed by his Holiness, to inform the People of these Matters, saith, *Here are Two Jubilees granted in One Year*.

By Virtue of this Bull, any Man in *Portugal*, may have all the Benefits of the *Stations* at *Rome*, the visiting a certain Church out of Devotion, at a Set-time, is what they call a *Station* there. *Stations* are made at several Churches of that City, within, and without the Walls in their Turns, almost all the Year about ; but chiefly in the time of *Lent*, a plenary Indulgence is gain'd at every one of them ; and there are eight Days in the Year, on every one of which a Soul is to be drawn out of Purgatory.

Now one that hath this Bull, if he will but visit any five Churches, where-ever they are ; or if there are not so many in the place where he is, but five Altars ; or for want of them, the same

same Altar five times, shall gain the same Indulgence, as if he had made the *Stations* at *Rome* : Or, if he please, he may, *Per modum suffragii*, apply the Benefit of them to Souls in Purgatory. And the Commissary saith, *That regularly this Bull is of more benefit than a Mass said at a Priviledg'd Altar* : And yet, they say, That shall draw a Soul out of Purgatory at once.

Another great Conveniency gain'd by this Bull, is, that a Man by Virtue thereof may commute for any Vows that he shall make, except only the Vows of Chastity, of Religious Orders, or Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. As for all other Vows, let them be never so solemnly made, tho' they are confirmed with Oaths; and even with additional Vows, that the Party will never commute, nor seek a Dispensation for them, one that hath the benefit of this Bull, may, for a small Sum of Money, given towards maintaining the Garrisons in *Africa*, free himself from the Obligation ; nay, he may commute for what they call an imperfect Vow of Chastity, such as not to marry ; not to sin with a single Woman, or another Man's Wife, or any particular Person, and some other things which the Commissary hath set down likewise, too long, or not fit to be repeated. He may also commute for a previous Vow that he may have made to take that Vow of Religious Orders, and the Circumstances of a Vow of going to *Jerusalem*, may be commuted for likewise ; such as making the Journey on foot, begging all the way, or going without much Company.

But these excepted, there is hardly any Case to be imagin'd, wherein a Man hath occasion to make a solemn Promise ; but if he will consult  
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an *Epitome* of the Priviledges gain'd by the Bull, which the Commissary hath set forth by Authority Apostolick, he may know what he is to pay in Commutation of his Vow. To mention some few Instances, as they are set down in that Piece: Suppose a Person should vow, That he would hear two Masses in a Day, or maintain a poor Man for a Day, remain chaste for a Day, or observe Conjugal Chastity for six Days; not to Play, take Snuff, or drink Wine for a Month, or not speak to any Body for two Days. Or, if a young Woman shall make a Vow to forbear eating Chalk, Earth, or Red Clay (such as the *Portuguese* Earthen Ware is made of) for a Week. In every one of these Cases, the Rich are to pay six *Vintains*, the Middle-Sort four, the Poorer two, the Poorest one: And this Rate is to be observ'd for the time the Vow was to last. As, put the Case, a Man had bound himself to fast every *Saturday* in a Year; if he be taxed at the lowest Rate, his Commutation-Money will come to 1040 *Reis*. But if he be unable to pay the whole Sum, he may be admitted to compound after this manner: Suppose the Person makes his Vow at fifteen Years of Age, this Vow, according to some Doctors, would oblige him till he came to be of sixty, some say 'till seventy. The Commissary takes the middle Number, *viz.* 65, whence take 15, and there remains 50 Years of Obligation to fast, and the Commutation-Money would come to 120 *Millreis*; for all which, according to the Rule of Composition, of which I shall speak anon, he is to pay but 2 *Mill*, 800 *Reis*: And if he cannot afford this, he may compound but for 10 Years; and then he will be obliged to pay but three *Testons*: But it is the surest

curest way, faith the Commissary, to pay the whole Sum, if the Person can afford it ; at least, to pay for ten Years : But if he cannot do that, his Composition will secure him in all Cases, wherein he cannot conveniently fast.

One that hath made a Vow of Chastity (supposing it to be commutable) if he would be freed from the Obligation, is to pay a *Vintaine* a Day at the lowest rate, which will amount to 7 *Mill* 300 *Reis*, if the Vow be for Life, according to the rate of 10 Years purchase, it will amount to 73 *Millreis*. If he be unable to pay this Sum, he must compound : Now, since People live sometimes to fourscore, he (supposing the Vow made at 15) has 65 Years to account for, the Commutation of which amounts to 474 *Mill* 500 *Reis*. According to the Rule of Composition (to be explain'd presently), for the first 200 *Millreis*, he may compound for 6 *Mill*, and for the remainder at 10 *per Cent*, which makes 27 *Mill*, 450 *Reis* ; and in all it comes to 33 *Mill* 450 : but in case the Man be poor, and unable to pay, he may compound for 10 Years only, and come off for fifteen *Testons* : But this easie Composition is allow'd only in case of Conditional Vows, and that before the Condition be fulfilled ; as for instance : Suppose one in a Fit of Sicknes shall make a Vow, That if he recovers, he will turn Fryar : If he compounds before his Recovery, he shall be admitted to this easie Composition ; but if he delays 'till the Condition be fulfill'd, that is, 'till after his Recovery, his Commutation-Money shall be doubled. All that is required of the Party, in this Business of Commutation, is, for him to come and put his Money into a certain Cash Chest, which is called the *Vow-Box* ; but he



he must be sure to put it in with his own Hands, or take care that it be done by some other Person, his Confessor excepted ; for the Confessor is not to finger the Money upon pain of Excommunication, tho' it be in order to put it into the *Vow-Box*. All that he has to do in the Case, is to instruct his Penitent, when, and how he is to make his Commutation ; and he becomes guilty of mortal Sin, saith the Commissary, if he sets the Commutation at an Under-rate. These are some of the Priviledges granted by this Bull ; and, as if they were not enough to oblige People to buy it, it suspends and derogates from all other Indulgences and Priviledges whatsoever, making them of no validity to those that shall neglect to take out this : And to make it more necessary, and which may be a great Cause, why every Body buys it, it grants a License to eat Eggs, Butter, Cheese, and all other *Lacticinia*, in time of *Lent*. There are some Diocesses in *Portugal*, where, by ancient Custom, it was before lawful to eat those things in *Lent* ; but the Bull is nevertheless necessary there, than elsewhere : For it suspends, as I have said, all such Priviledges ; so that the Custom becomes unlawful, when the Bull is published. It likewise gives leave to eat Flesh upon Fast-Days, all the Year about ; in case the Spiritual and Bodily Physician shall think it convenient. The Spiritual Physician is any licensed Confessor, tho' he gives his Judgment out of Confession ; and for the other, the Opinion of an experienced old Woman, may, by Virtue of this Bull, be taken in the case. But it is to be observed, that the Bull holds good only 'till the next Publication, when another must be taken out ; and it is published every Year.

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The Price of it, to those that are worth 400 *Millreis* a Year, which way soever it arises, is three *Testons* : Such as are worth 200 *per Ann.* pay two *Testons* ; the Wife paying always as much as the Husband : All those that are above seven Years old, pay 4 *Vintains*, excepting these that follow, who pay but two *Vintains* : Young People that are maintain'd by their Parents, Labourers, and Journey-men, that live only on their Wages, Beggars, Common Soldiers, Widows, and single Women that live on Alms ; Priests, that have nothing but their Masses to maintain them ; or such of them as are Foreigners, or go begging about the Kingdom, all these pay but two *Vintains*. Under the same Class are reckon'd such as have Houses of their own, yet live miserably ; Coblers, or Botchers, that cannot set up a Stall, but go about for Work ; Jesuits profest, begging Fryars, unless they have somewhat allow'd them by their Friends, Pilgrims, and Prisoners : But then all Journey-men that can get two *Testons* a Day ; Priests that live with their Parents, Servants to Persons of Quality, whose Wages come to 40 *Millreis*, must pay 4 *Vintains*.

So that the Tax we see is universal, and being constant, must amount to a considerable Revenue ; and the two other Bulls must mightily increase the King's Profits : Supposing the People believe any thing of Popery, as certainly they do in *Portugal*, as much, or more, than in any Country in the World The Bull, for the Dead is sold to all People alike, at the same Price, viz. for half a *Teston* : But then it is of no benefit, but to such as have taken out the former. By this a Man may apply all the Indulgences and  
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Remissions contain'd in the other to any Soul in Purgatory, let him choose which he will ; and shall, *Per modum suffragii*, obtain a relaxation of the Pains, to which that Soul stands expos'd by the Divine Justice, (they are the Commissary's words). More than this, he may make a conditional Application of the Bull to any Soul, with a Reserve, That if that Soul shall have no occasion for it, the Benefit shall go to another ; and if that be got out already, to another, and so on as far as he pleases ; as for Instance : I take out a single Bull, for the Soul of my Friend *Francisco*, with this Condition, That if he be gone to Heaven, I take it then for *Pedro* ; and, in case he does not want it, for *Diego*, &c. but he must always determine the Application to some certain Person ; or he may say, It shall go to him that stands most, or to him that stands least in need of it that is, to him whose Turn it would be to go first or last out of Purgatory. But if he shall give it indefinitely to whomsoever God pleases, the Bull loses its Virtue, for want of a determinate Application. And the Commissary declares, That one and the same Person, may deliver as many Souls as he pleases, at the rate of half a Teston per Soul ; for each of them he is to receive an Extract of the Bull, with this following Certificate at the end of it, subscribed by the Commissary : *Forasmuch as you N. N. have given half a Teston, the Soul for which your Intention was to give the said Alms, remains free from the Pains of Purgatory* Lourenço Pires Caravalho. But then the said N. N. must see that the Money be good : For if he, through mistake, should think it so, and it proves naught, the Bull, as the Commissary declares, and the Casuists agree, will be  
good

good for nothing. This Bull may be taken out several times for one and the same Person ; which, in my Opinion, should make a body question its Efficacy, and doubt of the Infallibility of that Determination of Pope *Leo* the Tenth, concerning Indulgences, that *Tantum valent quantum sonant*. But however, if it be renewed often, it will increase the King's Incomes ; and therefore the Commissary thinks it advisable that a fresh one should be taken out once every Year for the same Soul, and there can be no great loss in so doing, by reason of the conditional application ; and by this Means the King comes to have a constant Revenue from the Dead, as well as from the Living, which goes increasing every Year. *It is wholesome advice*, saith the Commissary, *for a Person on his Death-bed to recommend to his Friends, the taking of it out for him, and the best time is as soon as the Breath is gone out of his Body ; however*, says he and the Casuists, *it will have the same effect at one time as another ;* And I believe they speak their Minds in this. It is Customary to give the Bull to the dead Corps to carry it with him to the Grave ; and I have frequently seen it tuck'd under his Girdle (for the Dead are buried here in the Habit of *St. Francis*, without Coffins.) But the Learned I must own, do not think this to be at all necessary, but rather condemn it as an Abuse.

The *Bull of Composition* seems to be no less profitable to the Exchequer, than either of the former. By virtue of this, such as have made certain unlawful Gains, upon paying down a small part of them, may, with a safe Conscience, keep the rest to themselves. By it Ecclesiasticks may compound for the Profits of their Benefices, which

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they receive when they have fallen from their Rights to them, either by neglect to say their Offices, or by lying under Censures: And this Bull is so accommodated to all sorts of People, that it is of singular use to Traders of what kind soever they be, Usurers, Lawyers, Officers of Justice, Trustees, Gamesters, Rooks, Thieves, Prostitutes: These are all of them, in express, or equivalent Terms, admitted to Composition in the Commissary's Explication of the Bull, as in a word, are all such in general that have occasion to make unlawful Gains; the Merchant who puts off Damaged Goods, without discovering the Fault to the Buyer, or to enhance the Price pretends they are of one Country, when they come from another; One that mixes good and bad Wares together, as Corn, for instance, that hath been putrified, with that which is sound, or that puts his Corn into a moist place to make it swell; such as sell by false Weights and Measures, Gold and Silver-Smiths that put too much Alloy into their Works; Apothecaries, who, that they may not be known to want any Drugs that are called for, put others in their stead; Extortioners, whether by way of Usury, or that taking Advantage from their Neighbours Necessity, use to buy things for less than a just Price. All these are admitted to Composition for their ill-gotten Gains, in case they are uncertain as to the particular Persons to whom Restitution ought to be made; the same is to be said concerning Officers of Justice, Advocates, Witnesses, Notaries, who take more than their just Fees, or who appear in bad Causes.

There is a very commendable Practice among Trading-People in *Portugal*, to set aside some part of their Estates for Pious Uses, by way of Repa-

Reparation for Wrongs they may have done, through inadvertency in the Hurry of Business. But that which is given this way, being commonly left by Will, the Executors may, by virtue of this Bull, compound for one Moiety of all such Legacies, in case the Legatees shall neglect to come and Claim them within a Year: Executors may likewise compound for all manner of Legacies, in case the Persons concerned cannot be found after a due Enquiry. They also that keep Gaming-Houses, where Cheats are practis'd, such as Rook others at Play, or Win Money from Boys, Women, Fryers, Slaves; They that have lost at Play and have no mind to pay, Publick-Women that exact, or by their Artifices gain more from their Customers than their lawful Hire (for their Hire, according to the Casuists, is their due, if it be moderate, or no more than is customary, or than as it is rated by the Magistrates.) Private Women that practice the same Trade are likewise Compounders, and that (as some will have it) for all the Money they take; for some Casuists reckon all their Gains unlawful, for that they do in a manner practice without a Licence. Men are likewise to compound for the Money or Jewels they take on such accounts from Married Women, supposing that what they give be at their own disposal, or of their *bona Paraphernalia*, as the Lawyers term it, otherwise it is to be restored to the Husband. Such as have gotten Ship-wreck'd Goods into their hands, or Goods taken out of Houses in a Fire, if the Owner be not known, may compound for them: Composition may likewise be made for a Deposite left by one gone into a Far Country, in case He or his Heirs be not heard of



in some time; as also, for the surplussage of the value of a Pawn, that's sold when the Party that hath taken Money upon it, is not found, upon due enquiry.

But it is a Question, What Diligence is required in seeking out the Party to whom Restitution should be made in any of these Cases? The Commissary for his part, is very reasonable, tho he speaks by Apostolical Authority, and declares that Diligence to be sufficient which a Prudent Man, (the Quantity and Quality of the Thing, the Time and the Place, &c. considered,) would use in his own Concerns, and it is a receiv'd Maxim amongst the *Spanish* Casuists, That in this Case, *No es necessario hazer lo ultimo de potencia*; which is as much as to say, a Man need not do his utmost: But I have met with a single *Portuguese*, who very honestly declares against them all, that *since it is commonly for Goods stolen or unjustly detained, that People compound, the most exact diligence is requir'd.*

Composition once made, let the Owner then appear as soon as he will, the Compounder is absolv'd from the Debt, and is no longer bound to Restitution, either *in Foro Conscientiæ*, or *in Foro externo*, so saith the Commissary, whose Declaration is a Law in these Matters, and my *Portuguese* Casuist, who was so honest just now, seems to be of the same Opinion.

Another Question is, *Whether a Man may be admitted to Compound, who makes his unlawful Gains in confidence of having the benefit of the Bull?* The Commissary declares in expresse Terms that he cannot; however he mollifies the matter not a little, by declaring, That one who hath such a Confidence, may Compound for what he hath unjustly got

got through Frailty, and that at the worst, he may apply himself to him (the Commissary) and make such a Composition as He shall think fit ; for in this Case, he says, there is no Rate set: He says the same thing concerning such, as shall take that which is another Mans, knowing whose it is at the same time, but hoping they shall forget him afterwards, that by this means they may have the Benefit of the Bull, and of such as will not pay Legacies, till the time be expired, in hopes of Compounding ; In all these Cases, they must come to the Commissary, and Compound with him at his own Terms.

The Ordinary Rate of Composition is a *Teston* per Bull, for every 5 *Millreis* ie one in 50 of the aforesaid unlawful Gains ; and at this Rate one may Compound for 100 *Millreis*, but when the Sum exceeds an hundred *Millreis*, he must pay for the excess 2 *Testons* out of every Five *Millreis*, till he comes to 200, but after that there is no Composition, till he applies himself to the Commissary, or his Deputy, and he commonly exacts 10 *per Cent*, but does not so ty himself up, but will require more or less, according to the Circumstances of the Case.

The Purchaser of this Bull must receive a Printed Copy of it, or else the Commissary saith it will do him no good ; however, he saith, it may be presently torn in Pieces (as that for the Dead may too) and be of as much Benefit as before, but such as will keep it by them, must have their Names Subscrib'd, or if they are shy to do this, as being tender of their Credit, they must themselves subscribe *Foam*, that is, *Some-body*.



None can have the Benefit of these two later Bulls, unless he has taken out the former, They may be all Three had by any that reside in *Portugal*, whether Natives or Strangers, and by *Portugueses* residing in Foreign Countrys, in case they design to return Home in any Time; Many other Matters, of as great Importance as any thing yet mentioned, might be related concerning these Bulls: The Reader, perhaps, will think I have trifled too long about them already, but he may depend upon it, that nothing hath been said on the Subject, but upon sufficient Authority.

The Money rais'd by all these Contributions, goes I suppose, for the most part, the same way as the rest of the Publick Revenues do. The Pope indeed has his Share out of it, but if it be no more than is pretended, it is but a very inconsiderable one, since the King stands so much oblig'd to him for the whole; for it is said to have been no more at first than 12000 Crowns a Year, as I remember, I have been told that it is now 15000; but it has been of late, one part of the *Nuncio's* business at *Lisbon*, to get it rais'd higher. However, if his Holiness fails in this, he knows how to make it up out of the Kingdom of *Portugal* by other ways.

Another small part of these Incomes goes to maintain the *Portuguese* Garison in *Mazagam*, consisting of about 1500 Men. *Mazagam* is a Rock in the *Atlantick Ocean* in the Coast of *Barbary*, so contiguous to the Shoar, that at Low-Water it seems to be join'd to the Firm Land, and serves sometimes as a Refuge to Christian Slaves from *Mequenes*, I know not what other use it may be of, unless it be to keep them in  
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countenance that are employed in Preaching up the *Croisade*; but they fearing belike, that the Pretence may not be sufficient to bear them out, take care to inform the People, that were there no such Place in being, and not a Souldier Paid in *Barbary*, they shall have every thing made made good to them to a Tittle that is promis'd in the Bulls, for whatever becomes of the Money their Merit is the same; and that, they say, by the help of the Indulgences, will be sure to carry them directly to Heaven; I have the Sermon of one of these Preachers now before me, and he, among other Prodigious Extravagances, is proving, *That the Croisade Bull is of greater Benefit to his Auditors than their Baptism it self, or than Martyrdom would be*: I shall not repeat his Profane Arguments; But the Conclusion he pretends to make out is, *That these Indulgences are able to purifie them from the Guilt of all their Sins, and free them from the Punishment due to them either in Hell or Purgatory.*

The King of *Portugal's* Land-Forces, used in Times of Peace, to amount to about 12 or 13000 Men, Horse and Foot, but they have been encreas'd of late Years, and with the New Levies rais'd above a year ago, they made 25000 Men, and new Commissions are still giving out. But the King's Pay is so poor a Subsistence, that tho' there be Lazy Beggars enough in this Kingdom, and People live as hardly here as in any Part of *Europe*, yet it would be impossible, even in times of Peace, to get Souldiers to supply the Garrisons, were not Compulsion us'd. The Pay of those that serve about *Lisbon*, which, as I have been told, is double to what they receive in other



Parts of the Kingdom, is half a *Teston per diem*, out of which such Deductions are made, that besides a small Ammunition-Loaf, there comes, scarce a *Vintain* to the Souldier; for which reason, the Officers, whose business it is to raise Souldiers, are dreaded and courted by the People in their several Districts, as Men in whose power it is to do the greatest mischief in the World to their Neighbours; and when any Person is pitch'd upon for the King's Service, lest he should run his Country, his Father or his nearest Relations, are made responsible for his Forth-coming, and this in time of Peace. But it is commonly reported, that during the War with the *Spaniards*, It was a Customary Thing among the Poor People, to blind their Children when they were young, lest when they grew up they should be taken from them for Soldiers; and this is usually given for the reason why there are so many Blind Beggars about the City, that gain their Livelihood by singing Prayers at the Doors of the poorer sort, who Contract with them for their Attendance, each Customer allowing them a Pension of about Ten *Reis* or *Vintain per Month*; and there are many who think the Parents of these miserable Creatures have well provided for them.

The King hath about 25 Ships of War, great and small, most of them well built, and they say after the best *English* Models, according to His Majesties immediate Directions, who is said to have great Skill in these Matters, and to delight much therein. It is thought that about Seventeen may be Fitted out for Service. Nor hath  
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this King been less careful to provide himself with Seamen, to which end he hath taken care to have a certain Number Enroll'd and ready always upon Occasion; and for their Encouragement, he has bestowed several considerable Priviledges and Immunities, upon such as being found duly qualified, shall enter their Names in the List. But the Number required is so very small, as shews that there is a great Want of Seamen in the Kingdom; for they are no more than 300, at least they were no more at their first Institution in 1676, and I have not heard that they have been encreas'd since: Whence it appears, That the *Portugueses*, who were once so famous for Navigation all over the World, are now much fallen from what they were 150 Years ago. Another Proof of this great Change is this, Tho' they have every Summer, a small Squadron out a Cruising upon the *Algerines* and *Sallee-men*, they have never been able to take a Prize, at least in the Memory of the Oldest Men of my Acquaintance, who have known the Country for these many Years. We had indeed a Story in the *English Gazette*, I think it was in 1692, of their burning the Admiral of *Sallee*, but at last it proved to be but a small Boat that was run ashore. It might be expected that they should in some measure recover themselves during the late War, in which other Seafaring Nations were embroil'd, whilst they enjoy'd the Benefit of a Free-Trade, as in effect they did, almost to the doubling of their Trading Vessels. But it does not appear that they made any great Improvement in the *Art of Navigation*; for there was hardly Skill enough among them to carry a Ship into the *English Channel*, very few,



few, if any of them, daring to venture upon that Voyage without an *English* Pilot: I suppose it is for want of Seamen that the King's Ships are so much crowded with Land-Souldiers; for these make the greatest part of the Complement, That of the biggest Ships, as I have been told, consisting of 60 Mariners, 80 others not yet qualified for Able Seamen, and 250 Land-Souldiers.

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## Of His Majesties First Queen.

**M***arie Françoise Elizabeth de Savoie*, youngest Daughter to *Charles Amadee de Savoie*, Duke of *Nemours*, by *Elizabeth* the Daughter of *Cæsar de Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendome*, Natural Son of *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France*, by *Gabriele d' Eſtreas* Dutcheſs of *Beaufort*, commonly called *la Belle Gabriele*.

She was Born the 21<sup>th</sup> of *June* 1646, Contracted to *Dom Alfonſo* the VI. King of *Portugal*, the 27<sup>th</sup> of *June* 1666, arrived at *Lisbon* the Second of *August* following, and having cohabited with that King for the ſpace of near Sixteen Months, was Divorced from him, and Married afterwards, viz. the 2<sup>d</sup> of *April* 1668 to his Brother the *Infante Dom Pedro*, now King of *Portugal*.

This Lady, who before her Marriage, went by the Title of the *Mademoiselle d' Aumalle*, was at firſt deſigned for the *Infante*, whilſt a Match was in Treaty between the King his Brother, and her Elder Sister *Mademoiselle de Nemours*, the preſent Dutcheſs Dowager of *Savoy*; but that Match not taking effect, ſhe was Contracted, as I have ſaid, to the King, and another Marriage was concluded between the *Infante* and *Mademoiselle de Bouvillon*, Daughter to the Prince of *Turenne*, and Niece to the Mareſchal of that Name: But this was Broke off, becauſe the *Infante* could not be prevail'd with by any  
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Perfwasions or Menaces, the King his Brother could use, or the Entreaties of the Ministers and his own Servants to stand to what had been agreed upon in his Name and by his Order: The reasons for his refusal I could never learn.

Soon after the New Queens Arrival at *Lisbon*, King *Alfonso* began to express an extraordinary coldness towards her, and in a short time he estranged himself very much from her Company, his Indifferency growing into an utter Aversion, insomuch that he forbore not openly to Exclaim against the Authors of this Match, who, as he hath been heard to say, *had advised him to that which he should have cause to repent of all his life-time*; all this was said (by such as were ill-affected to that Prince) to proceed from a certain un-fitness for Marriage, which the Queen afterwards laid to his Charge. Others are still of Opinion, that it was occasioned by some secret cause of Dislike that rendred her Person disagreeable to him. They that accuse the King of Inability, impute the cause of that, and of his Incapacity for Government, which they accuse him of likewise, to his Sickness in the time of his Infancy; for at Three Years Old he had been seiz'd with a Malignant Fever, and that was succeeded by a Palsie, whereby, as it is said, all his Right Side became withered, from Head to Foot, insomuch that he remain'd Lame ever after, on that Side; but they that tell this, accuse him likewise of delighting to Ride the most fierce and un-manageable Horses, and to encounter with Wild Bulls, and other Violent Exercises, which one wou'd think should suppose a vigorous Habit of Body; they represent him also as guilty of many Extravagancies  
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on the account of lewd Women, as in truth, his vicious Inclinations to them were apparently the cause of most of those Disorders they lay to his Charge. And this may make one suspect their sincerity likewise, when they tell us, *That the same Distemper had so affected his Brain, that he was never in his right mind.* It may, no doubt, with reason enough, be said of this King, That some have taken the Liberty (upon what grounds I know not) to say of his Father before him, that he was none of the wisest Kings that ever reign'd in *Portugal*, but then, the Faults he was guilty of, may be as well imputed to his want of Education, as to any Natural or Accidental Defect in his Understanding: For perhaps, there never was one designed for a Crown more neglected in his Youth than this Prince had been: He had been suffered to abandon himself to all the Extravagancies his childish Inclinations led him to, and not only his own, but those of his Companions; these were (not the Sons of the Nobility but) such as himself had pickt up out of the Streets, from among the Boys that he us'd to behold from the Palace Windows, dividing themselves into Parties, and Pelting one another with Stones, the usual Pastime of *Portuguese* Children. They that were of the Party favoured by the King, and signaliz'd themselves most at this Exercise, had the largest share in his Affections, and some of them, as they grew up with him, became his Principal Favourites; these, from the very beginning of his Reign, found entrance into the Court, and would, at times, entice the King down into the Stable-Yard of the Palace, and there, together with a lewd Rabble of Grooms, Blacks, and *Moorish* Slaves, entertain His Majesty



jesty with Wrestling, Boxing, throwing the Bar, darting Knives, setting Dogs to Fight, the Young King making One amongst them, and what he learnt from the Conversation of this vile Crew, he afterwards, on some occasions, put in practice.

Such Education was not, we may be sure, very likely to qualifie him for the Affairs of State. 'Tis true, the Chiefest of his Companions had been put from him immediately before his taking the Government upon himself; and he having had the happiness to fall into better hands, a great alteration was observed in his Conduct; yet he was not so changed, but that he found himself obliged to leave Affairs of Importance to the Care and Management of others.

This the new Queen soon perceiv'd; and as 'tis very likely she was encouraged to make her Advantage of the King's Unfitness for Business, and to endeavour to get the Government of him, and his Kingdom, into her own hands. This is certain, that notwithstanding the King's Neglect of Her, she was not wanting to herself; but took all occasions to make her self considerable; She not only procured from him a Grant for the Augmentation of the Revenue settled on her in Marriage, but began to talk of calling to account such as were possess'd of any Lands belonging to former Queens, and more than this, to interpose in Affairs of State, and Matters of Government, giving the Ministers to understand, that she expected to know how things went, and she made her self to be obey'd so far, that nothing of Moment was transacted in the King's Council, but Her Majesty was consulted about it. Not content with all this, she seem-

seemed to have a further Aim still, and to design no less than a Total Change of the Ministry, in order to engross the whole Power to her self, or impart it to such as she should engage in her Interests.

The Great Men of the Kingdom were at this time divided into Two Irreconcilable Parties, neither of which could be safe, but by a Total Overthrow of the other; the one consisting of those that had been in the Government in the late Queen Mother's time, or had done their utmost to continue her Regency, and were at this time wholly broken, driven from Court, or deprived of their Charges, and the Principal of them Banish'd into several remote parts of the Kingdom. The other was of them that were then in the Ministry, or had been instrumental in placing King *Alfonso* on the Throne, in opposition to the Queen his Mother, and obliging her to retire into a Monastery. The new Queen, presently after her Arrival publicly declar'd for the vanquish'd Party, at least, did that which in effect was the same thing; for she openly solicited the return of the Duke of *Cadaval*, and his re-establishment at Court. This Duke was the chief Person of the whole Party, and had shewn himself the most active of them all in the Queen Mothers Service, and thereby had drawn upon himself the largest share of the King's Displeasure. Besides, the *Conde de Castelmelhor*, who was then the Prime Minister, and the Principal Man, next the King, at Court, had reason to look upon the Duke as his most formidable Antagonist; and to apprehend his Return as a Step towards the Ruine of himself and his whole Party, especially if it were obtained



tained by the Queens Sollicitation, which would have engaged that Great Man to her Service; and it might prove impossible for him to hold out against their united Interests. There had that passed between the Duke and the *Conde*, that the Court could not well hold them both, as it cannot to this day; for they are both still alive; the Duke is now in the Ministry, and for that reason (some give it for the only reason) the Court, for this last Reign, hath remain'd shut to the *Conde*.

But to put things in their due light, I find it will be necessary to look back to the time of the late Queens Regency, and give a brief account of some former Transactions, particularly those wherein either of these two great Men were concern'd.

*Donna Luísa Francisca de Gusman*, who by her Courage had animated Duke *John* of *Bragança*, her Husband, to take upon him the Crown, which she is said to have preserved likewise upon his Head by her Counsels; was left by that King at his Death, which happened the Sixth of *November* 1656, Regent of the Kingdom, and Tutress or Guardian to the Princes their Children; but her Regency was not like to continue long, should the Young King, her Son, be reckoned to be of Age at the usual time of Majority, it having been customary, for Kings of this, as well as of other Nations, to be declared Majors at Fourteen, and *Dom Alfonso* was near the end of his Thirteenth Year at the King his Father's Death, for he was born the 21<sup>st</sup> of *August* 1643, so that should former Presidents be observed in the present Case, she was like, in a short time, to be forced to let go the Power out  
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of her hands, and see a Kingdom which she had contributed so much to procure and preserve for the Family, committed to the discretion of a Child; or entrusted by him to she knew not whom, for he once declared, *Major* would be at liberty to chuse his own Ministers. The best-established Governments in such a case must necessarily be exposed to many great Inconveniences; but that of *Portugal*, which was then new and unsettled, and struggling as it were, for life, in a War with ~~the~~ *Spanish* Monarchy, would be in danger of utter Ruine: For these considerations, as we may well suppose, the Queen resolv'd to prolong her Regency for some Years beyond the ordinary time; to this end she conferred all Offices of Trust upon Creatures of her own, or such as she could confide in, and took such ways to engage those in Power, as should make them more apprehensive of a Change than her self; and in effect, she so manag'd Matters, as to remain possesst of the Government till the King was within a Month of Nineteen; and had not the Conde de *Castelmelhor*, by an unexpected Surprise, broken all her Measures, she might, in all likelihood, have kept it in her hands as long as she pleas'd; and her Enemies used to say, That by her good will she had never parted with it while she lived.

And in truth, her Conduct in regard to the King her Son may have given some colour to this Aspersion; the Education of that Prince in his tender Age was such as has been now described. Its true, the Queen Mother took notice, with what Scandalous Companions he associated himself, and made grievous complaints of it; but still they had access to him,

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even while he was of those Years when one would think his Governours should be responsible for his Carriage.

As the King grew bigger he became guilty of such Excesses as might be expected from a Youth so Bred, and left to his own Liberty, without a Curb; He took great pleasure in walking the Streets a Nights in Company of his Braves, to haunt the Houses of leud Women, and sometimes he would order the Prostitutes to be brought to him to the Palace; he is reported likewise to have committed several Outrages upon those he met with in his Night-Walks; nor did he wholly abstain from those Pranks in the Day-time; several Instances of this nature are reckoned up by those that have made a strict enquiry into his Faults; but I do not find, that he ever did any great mischief; He often endangered his Person indeed, and began to loose himself much in the Peoples Opinion.

The Queen Mother made loud Complaints of these disorders; but then she took such a course, as might make her Enemies suspect, she desired that the People rather than her Son might become sensible of his Faults; she exposing them in as Publick Manner as was possible, in order, as some imagine, to make her self thought more Necessary, and him less capable of the Government. One time she contriv'd it so, that all the Counsellors of State should wait upon him in a Body, and let him understand how his Person and the Kingdom were in danger by the Courses he took; The young Duke of *Cadaval*, Dom *Nuno Alvarez Pereira*, upon the account of his Quality (he being then, as he is still, the only Duke in the Kingdom) was chosen Spokesman,  
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and he, at the Head of the rest, in the Name of the Queen, the King's Brother and Sister, the Court, and the whole Kingdom, admonish'd His Majesty to change the whole Course of his Life, and not to expose, as he did, himself and the Nation to ruine. Another time she assembled together the Officers of the Crown, the Courts of Justice, the Nobility and Gentlemen about the Court, and the Magistrates of *Lisbon*; The Design of this great Assembly was to make a more solemn Remonstrance to the King, and withal to remove one *Antonio Conti* from about his Person; this *Conti* had been one of those Boys that had had the good hap to get into the King's Favour, by distinguishing himself at the Exercises aforementioned; and by this means, from serving in a Pedling Shop in the *Capella* (a small Cloyster within the Palace) he grew to be a considerable Person at Court, becoming the King's constant Companion in his Extravagancies; and he was thought to contribute more to the corrupting of him than any other Person whatsoever.

The seizing of this *Conti* was the first thing to be put in Execution, and therefore whilst the Queen Mother entertain'd the King in private, the Duke of *Cadaval*, with some other Lords, took him violently out of the Palace it self, where he had shut himself up in the King's own Apartment, which the Duke was ready to force, and had done it, had not *Conti* opened to him, he having caus'd instruments to be brought in order to break down the Doors, resolving to kill *Conti* upon the Place, in case he refus'd to surrender himself. *Conti* taken, and with some others of the like Stamp, convey'd on Board a



Ship then under Sail for *Brazil*, the whole Company came and presented themselves before the King, and in the Name of them all, the Secretary of State read a Remonstrance to him that had been drawn up by general Consent ; it contain'd an account of the Queens Complaints, the Grievances of the Nation, the King's ill Conduct, and the Exorbitancies of his Favourites. The King was mightily surpriz'd, to see himself thus unexpectedly attack'd, by so great a Crowd of People ; for he had not the least Warning given him of their coming ; was so little prepared to receive and answer their Address, that it was some time after the Company was gone before he knew what Business brought them thither ; and this makes it look as if there was some further Design in hand than barely the King's Amendment. 'Tis plain, that in case the Queen had a Design to create a mutual Distrust between her Son and all the most Considerable Persons in the Kingdom, in order to keep him out, and secure her self in the Government, she could not have taken a more effectual Course to gain her Ends. She might be sure, that those she employ'd in such ungrateful Offices, would be very unwilling to see *Alfonso* in a condition to call them to account ; the *Portuguese* Nation is as little addicted to Forgiveness as any perhaps in *Europe* ; and such as are apt to revenge Injuries themselves, do of course expect the like Returns from those they have offended. *Alfonso* was a Prince, violent of his Nature, had not been bred to restrain or dissemble his Resentments ; so that these, who had thus violated the Palace of their King, and had laid open his Infirmities to the World in so publick and

and solemn a manner, as they had, wounded him in his most sensible part, could never think themselves secure while it was in his power to revenge the Affronts. And this seems to me to have been the Rise of that powerful Party which the New Queen found so ready to stand by her, to prosecute her Quarrels, and which enabled her at last to finish what the Queen Mother, contrary to her intentions, no doubt, had begun, that is the Ruine of the Unfortunate *Alfonso*.

This great Assembly dissolv'd, the King coming to understand upon what account they had been with him, and what they had been doing about his Palace, after he had given way to the first Transports of his Passion, began to think it was high time for him to assert his Authority, and to secure himself from the like Insults; or rather to beware of a Third Admonition. His Mother, by using him so like a Minor at the end of Five Years that had past since the time of his Majority, did not a little confirm him in his suspicions, that he was never like to come of Age while she liv'd; nor perhaps, enjoy the Crown at her Death; for he had been for some time perswaded, that her intention was to set up the *Infante*, his Brother, in his place, wherefore he resolv'd, once for all, to withdraw himself from under her Jurisdiction, by wresting, if it were possible, the power out of her hands; 'tis hard to tell whether these and the like thoughts were suggested to him, or confirm'd by Dom *Luis de Vasconcellos & Sousa Conde de Castelmelhor*; but 'tis not doubted that the Project of putting them in execution, was form'd presently after the Queen Mother and her Party



were withdrawn ; when the King shut himself up for some time with the *Conde*.

This Nobleman was of the First Quality, and one of the best Families in *Portugal*, but of Fortunes not equal to his Birth, or at least, not to his aspiring mind ; for tho' he was then but young, yet he had, for some time, been entertaining great Designs in his Head, which an occasion now offering it self, he made appear, that he wanted neither Courage nor Abilities to go through with : He had improved his natural Endowments by Travel, an advantage not common to those of his Rank in *Portugal*, and he himself had been obliged to it by Necessity, rather than Choice, he having had the Misfortune to be engag'd with several other Noblemen in a Quarrel, wherein one of them was kill'd. It is reported of him, that while he was in *Italy*, in the time of his Flight. he took occasion to declare, *That he must needs go home, for his mind gave him, that it would be his Fortune one day to become the greatest Man in Portugal.* The late King having granted him his Pardon, and upon his Death-Bed reconciled the Parties, he came again to Court, and when *Alfonso's* Household was settled, he by means of his Countesses Relations, got in to be a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber. 'Twas his Week when this great Stir was made about the Court ; but the Queen had not thought fit to make him of the Party ; and his Enemies give the World to understand, that it was for this, and no other reason, that he dis-approv'd of the action. But he appear'd a little too warm while the business was transacting, to let one think he was so very indifferent ; for meeting with the Duke in a Gallery, while he

he was in pursuit of *Conti*, he took occasion to reproach him for having lost his Respect to the King, by using this Violence in a Place that ought to be accounted Sacred; upon which, such hard words pass'd between them, that had not the Queen Mother made up the Quarrel afterwards, 'twas fear'd that they would have come to Blows; this Discourse happen'd while he was endeavouring to get in to the King to acquaint him of what they were doing about his Court, and had he not found all the Passages Guarded, he might have spoil'd the Design. But in the Conference he had, presently afterwards with the King, 'tis said, he laid the Project of that entire Defeat which in a few days he gave the whole Party. For the present, he prevail'd with the King to dissemble his Resentments, which, contrary to his Custom, he did, and carried it fair with his Mother and her Creatures, so that all things seem'd to be well again. The Queen was highly applauded by the Courtiers for her prudent Resolution and Conduct, and those vile Creatures that *Conti* had rais'd, took it extreamly ill that they were not thought fit to be employ'd in the Action. But some wiser than the rest, were a little startled at the King's ordering the *Conde* to wait another Week; tho' others were of Opinion that the *Conde* did not think himself safe, unless about the King's Person: But the Alarm was more general on the *Monday* after this Transaction (which had pass'd on *Saturday* the 16th of *June* 1662) when the King, taking occasion, according to his custom, to go to *Alcantara*, but in greater State than ordinary, the *Conde* from thence wrote to the Secretary of State in an imperious Stile, that it



was the King's Pleasure to know what they had done with *Conti*, whether any Order had been given to put him to Death; and whether *Manoel Antunes* (one of his Associates) had been arrested, but at Evening the King return'd, visited and caress'd his Mother, and on *Tuesday* all things were quiet again. On *Wednesday*, about Twelve a Clock the Plot broke out; for the King, at that unseasonable Hour (when People in this Country, at this time of the Year are going to sleep) taking the *Conde* with him in his Litter, withdraws privately to *Alcantara*, and thence sends to the Court for his Guards, and afterwards for Necessaries to fit up his Lodgings, Summons the Nobility to come and attend his Person, first those that he thought best affected to him, and afterwards all in general, dispatches away Expresses to the Commanders of his Army and Garrisons, to give them notice, That he had taken the Government into his own hands.

By this hardy Enterprize, the *Conde* in a few hours time entirely defeated the Queens most numerous and powerful Party, and broke all the Measures which that Princess, the most accomplished of her Sex in the Arts of Policy, had been concerting for several Years. Not that her accustomed Prudence fail'd her on this occasion, for she did all that could be expected from one of her Character, to preserve her Authority; and the *Conde*, who got the better of the day, was not a little oblig'd for his Success to his good Fortune: For at first News of what was doing at *Alcantara*, the Queen plac'd a Guard at the Passage from the City to that place, called her Confidants about her, and assembl'd the Council,

cil, giving out Orders at the same time, that none should go near the King, 'till they had been first with her : And she was so well obey'd, that the Fortune of the Day was for some time in Ballance ; and it was towards Evening, when the *Conde* found his Design had taken so little effect, that he was thinking to secure the King and himself in *St. Julian's* Castle: For notwithstanding his sending out the Summons with such an Air of Authority, there were no more than two Noblemen of the Secret, and it grew late before a Man besides them appear'd at *Alcantara*. But this was not known at *Lisbon*, nor had the adverse Party so much time to recollect themselves, as to consult one another's Sentiments, or be inform'd how People stood affected ; it was hard for them to think such Summons could have been sent, unless some under-hand Assurance had been given, that they would be obey'd ; and no Man could know, how far others were engaged, or might comply ; but every one might be assured, that his own Fortunes were spoil'd, should he be found among the last that came in. While things werethus in suspense at the Court, and at *Alcantara*, two Persons gave the Turn to the King's side ; the one was *Antonio de Sousa de Macedo*, a faithful Servant of the King, and a true Friend of the *Conde's*, of whom I shall afterwards have occasion to speak ; but he being not so considerable for his Birth or Quality, his Example was the less likely to draw others after him. The other was a great Lord, who proved afterwards the most bitter Enemy the King had in the World ; but at this time, contrary to his Intentions, did him a most important piece of Service : This was the Marquess of *Cascaes*,  
who



would needs be going to *Alcantara*, contrary to the Queen's Order, that he might see what they were doing there, and return to give Her Majesty an account : But other People could not see upon what Design he went ; so that he having thus broke the Ice, several followed his Example, who drew many after 'em that were not sent for, as well as of those that were. The King's Party growing apparently the stronger, the Highway to *Alcantara* was fill'd with Herds of such as think the strongest must surely be in the right, all Men striving to get foremost, to assure his Majesty of the great Zeal, which they, for their parts, always had for his Service. 'Tis not my Business to give the Particulars of this Revolution : In short, the Queen, after some struggle, found herself obliged to make a formal Surrender of the Government into the King's Hands, the following *Friday*.

The *Conde* having thus gotten possession of the Government, tho' he had discovered much of the Young Man in the Attempt ; yet, in the Management of Affairs, he proceeded with all the Flegm and Prudence of an old experienc'd Statesman. It's true, that in the beginning he found it necessary for the King's Safety, and his own, to use some Rigor, in making great Alterations at Court. The leading Men of the Queen's Party, as they had more or less incurr'd the King's Displeasure, were either banish'd into remote Parts of the Kingdom, removed from their Places, forbid the Court, or excused their Attendance ; but notwithstanding the Murmurs of the interess'd Persons, and their Dependants, he managed things so well, that in a short time he became exceeding

ceeding popular : He found the State at the Brink of Ruin, being in all appearance reduced to the last Extremity, by a War of Two and twenty Years standing. The *Spaniards*, after they had made Peace with the *French*, falling in upon *Portugal*, with the choice of their Forces, drawn from all parts of their Dominions ; and Don *John* of *Austria* was about that very time in the Bowels of the Kingdom, and expected every Day at *Lisbon*, at the Head of a more numerous Army than had been on foot since the beginning of the War : But , upon the *Conde's* coming to the Government, a sudden Check was given to the Enemy, and Victory declared it self so frequently in favour of the *Portugueses*, that this King, notwithstanding his Deposition, is still, and perhaps ever will be, distinguish'd by the Title of, *Alfonso the Victorious*. The People were much eas'd of their Taxes, and the Soldiers better paid than before ; Pretenders at Court, who us'd to be put off with Delays, had all reasonable Satisfaction given them, and many worthy Persons preferr'd to Employments ; in a word , the *Conde's* Administration during the five Years of his Government, gave so general a Satisfaction, that such as converse with the *Portugueses*, will find, that tho' they have all the Veneration for his present Majesty, that he justly deserves, yet they seldom speak of the *Conde's* Times, without regretting the want of him in the Ministry at present, they accounting him the only Person able to support the declining State.

But of all other Alterations, none was more taken notice of than that which People saw, or thought at least they saw, in the King ; as they did not look on him now with the same Eyes as  
for-



formerly, so without doubt his change of Condition and Company, must have had a like effect upon him, as it has on all other Men. He was now attended and respected by his Nobility, and had Men of Sense and Honour about him, whose Business it was to inform, and help him out, upon Occasions, and to raise him in the Peoples Esteem ; and so he must needs make a very different Figure, from what he did in that vile Company he before conversed with, and while he was kept under and discouraged by his Mother, whose Creatures holding their Places by the Opinion People had of the King's Incapacity, were ready enough, we may be sure, to catch at any thing that might serve to expose his Weakness. But it was observ'd, that such of these as still kept in at Court, and were us'd to be the most ready to cry out upon him, for want of Common Sense, were generally the most forward to admire the vast Improvements he had made in so short a time, which were such, that they could hardly take him for the same Person ; at least, they could think nothing less, than that he was alter'd to a Miracle ; they now thought he spoke Sentences like one inspir'd, and they were seldom without some of his Sayings in their Mouths : And that which astonish'd them the most, was, how it should enter into their Thoughts, that this Prince was unfit to govern *Portugal* ; for now they discover'd him to be of so exalted a Genius, as qualified him for the greatest Empire in the Universe. And I make no question, but they that talk'd at this rate, were the first to trample upon that poor Prince at his Fall. But there were still about the Court some ill-natur'd People, that had been unhappily engag'd in the  
same

same Party, who could never be brought over by the Turn of the Times to change their Sentiments, but affected rather the contrary Extream to these fawning Parasites, as thinking it perhaps scandalous, to be so much as in the Right, with such Company. They had so often talk'd of the King's Lameness in his Right-side, that notwithstanding all Demonstrations to the contrary, they were resolv'd to believe it still, and to hold, that it must have weaken'd him to that degree, as to make him unfit for Government : they agreed with the Compliers so far, that in case the King of himself did, or said, any of those Fine Things that were told of him, it must needs have been by virtue of some very miraculous Change indeed ; but they could not be perswaded that he acted of his own Head : They thought indeed, that he was inspired ; but that it was by the *Conde*, and his Creatures, whom they make the Authors of every thing that was well said, or done by him. And the Reason was, that tho' he began a Discourse well enough, and spoke to the purpose, when any address'd themselves to him, in case he was inform'd of their Business before-hand ; yet if they answer'd him again, these Malecontents pretended, that he was at a loss for a Reply, or faltered, or grew mute. When Instances were given of his discreet Behaviour on Occasions, when he could have no Instructions given him, they would say, He might perhaps have his lucid Intervals : Or they would put it off with a cold Jest, then current among them, That they allow'd one half of the King to be still hale and sound ; and when he spoke a good thing, they us'd to say, it came from his Majesty's Left-side ; but generally speaking, they thought  
all



all that he did, or said, came from the Right. The Jesuit might think himself more witty, when having occasion some Years since to mention *Alfonso's* Victories, he told the People in his Sermon, *That one half of a Portuguese King, was able to beat the great Monarch of Spain.*

But as great as this Change in the King really was, it was no thorough Reformation : For tho' in the beginning he seem'd to take up and apply himself to the Business of State, being constantly present at Councils, Dispatches, Audiences, &c. yet he was under some Constraint all the while ; and notwithstanding all that the Conde could do, he would have his Sallies, and sometimes break out into as great, or greater Extravagances than before : And that he might act with greater freedom, he long'd to have his *Conti* near him again. He had been advis'd, for Vindication of his Authority, to order this Man back from *Brazil* ; but withal, to save his Credit with the People, by the Conde's Perswasion, he forbid him coming near the Court. His Inclinations towards his old Favourite, were soon discovered by the adverse Party ; who ready to serve themselves of any Instruments, engag'd *Conti* in their Interest ; and a Plot was laid to supplant the Conde, and restore the Queen ; in order to which, *Conti* was to perswade the King, to recal the Exiles. He had his Correspondents at Court, who waiting their opportunity when the Conde was out of the way, contriv'd it so, that the King had two Interviews with *Conti*, near *Alcantara* : But the Conde, who had his Spies abroad, soon div'd into the bottom of the Plot, and laid it open to the King ; who was so incens'd thereat, that *Conti* was banish'd to *O Porto*,  
and

and the Conde had no further trouble with so unequal a Rival. One of those two Noblemen who had been of the Party at the Acclamation, (as it was call'd) of *Alcantara*, was found to be in the Conspiracy, and was banish'd likewise from Court: The other was dead, and had been in Disgrace some time before, upon pretence that he had drawn his Sword in the Palace, and given a Challenge, which is a Capital Crime by the Laws: These three, had, in the beginning of this Government, constituted a kind of Triumvirate among themselves, tho' the Conde always bore the greatest Sway; but he is accus'd of having us'd those under Arts, that are so much practis'd at Courts, to work the other two out of Favour. And I have not heard what is said in his Defence, in regard to the former; but as for this whom he found tampering with *Conti*, I cannot see why he should be blam'd for disarming an Enemy, whom he caught contriving his own Destruction.

The Conde having now clear'd the Court of his Enemies, both publick and secret, saw his Prediction fully accomplish'd, and himself without a Rival, in a manner sole Governour of *Portugal*; and he might have continued so, had he not unhappily laid a Train for his Master's Ruin and his own, in the way that he took more firmly to establish the Throne of that unfortunate Prince. *Alfonso* had now no longer cause to apprehend any Designs of his Mother, she had before been obliged to retire into a Monastery; and the Plot to restore her, by so contemptible an Instrument as *Conti*, seem'd to be the last Struggle of the Party. However, she died soon afterwards, and by the Conde's prudent Management



nagement, and good Fortune, there seem'd to be such an Union between the Royal Brothers, that there was no cause to fear any thing from the *Infante*, the only Person that could give Umbrage to the King ; so that had it not been for his unhappy Marriage, he might have dy'd with his Scepter in his Hand.

But no sooner was this fatal Marriage contracted, than all things seem'd to go backward, and tend directly to the Ruin of them both ; the Conde had been the Contriver of the Match, as the King, when in an ill Humour, us'd to reproach him, and he was the first that suffer'd by it. He had been perswaded, that there was nothing wanting to the King's Security, but his Marriage, which might possibly take him off from his wild Courses ; but he thought it a sure way to silence a Report, concerning a certain Weakness in him ; which was whisper'd about, in order to make People believe, that the *Infante* was alone capable of securing the Succession, the Conde being himself fully satisfy'd, that this Report was groundless ; at least, he solemnly protested, that he look'd upon it as an Imposture, when ask'd about it by the Marquess *De Sande*, as he was going to *France* to conclude the Marriage, he assuring the Marquess, That he had a Natural Daughter of the King's, at that time in his own House. But the Match concluded on, he soon found cause to repent of his Diligence ; for the Faction began to revive, and re-assume new Vigour, and to prosecute the same Designs under the *Infante's* Name, which they had before been carrying on in the Queen-Mothers. The Queen-Mother is reported by her Friends, as well as others, to have endeavour'd what she could,

could, to set up this young Prince in his Brother's place : She had settled his Court, when he was but Fourteen Years old, in almost as great Splendor as the King's, who was Sixteen before he had so much as a separate Apartment in the Palace. This look'd as if she was providing a future Head for the Party, for their Encouragement to stick the closer by her for the present : But after her Retreat, the Ministers with great Prudence and Success, endeavour'd to endear the two Brothers to each other, having them often together at the Palace, at *Alcantara*, and *Salva terra*, the *Infante* partaking with the King in all his ordinary Recreations, and sometimes in his less innocent Diversions. The Ministers did not a little value themselves on this, to the great Regret of their Adversaries, thinking that they had brought them to a perfect Agreement, and put an end to all those little Jealousies and Animosities that had been between them.

But no-sooner was the Princess *d'Aumalle* design'd for the King, but a Breach began that never could be clos'd : The *Infante's* Refusal to approve of the Match that was made at the same time, by his own Consent, between him and *Mademoiselle de Bouillon*, reviv'd the King's Jealousies ; insomuch, that he began to accuse him of having still his Mother's Design in his Head, to make himself King, and threatned to clap him into a Tower ; but all in vain, for the *Infante* persisted in his Refusal. I know not, but it may be about this time, that he was highly exasperated by an Expression the *Infante* had let fall, *That he was sure, the King could have no Children by his Marriage.*



When the new Queen's Arrival was expected, the *Infante* found himself destitute of Persons of Quality to attend him ; the Queen-Mother, when she settled his Household, had plac'd about him several Lords of her Party, not much inferiour, either in Rank or Number, to those in the King's Service ; but these being employ'd elsewhere, he had others given him, that were in the King, and the Conde's Interest ; and it fell out luckily, as it was then thought, for the Conde, that the *Infante* took such a liking to his Brother, *Simon de Vasconcellos*, that of his own accord he took him into his Service ; and this Favourite seem'd to have no less share in his good Graces, than the Conde had in the King's : But the preference of *Vasconcellos*, so disoblig'd the rest, that they withdrew from the *Infante's* Service ; they return'd indeed again, at the King's Request, but upon the *Infante's* making his Favourite Governour of his Household, they retired a Second time, and the King thought it too great a Condescension, to recal them. The *Infante* demand'd to have others in their room ; the King gave him the Nomination of such he should think fit ; he named those that were disagreeable to the King, who refus'd to confirm them, and offer'd to restore the old ones : But the *Infante* would not accept of them ; and so he was fain to be attended by the King's Servants, when he gave Audience to the Marquess *de Rouvigni*, who conducted the Queen to *Lisbon*. After her arrival, he desir'd leave of the King to retire from Court, since he could not continue there in a State agreeable to his Quality : The King told him, He might go if he pleas'd ; but should have no Order from him : Yet he thinking fit to stay 'till the Queen

Queen had made her Publick Entry, the King would several times ask him in Raillery, Why he was not gone ? But otherwise treating him with great Kindness. Upon which the *Infante* took occasion to declare, before *Vasconcellos*, That he perceived some malicious Persons had done him ill Offices with the King, and that the *Conde de Castelmelhor*, was not free from suspicion ; but in case he prov'd guilty, he would find a way to chastise him according to his Demerits. *Vasconcellos* offended to hear his Brother so ill treated, would stay no longer in the *Infante's* Service. The *Conde* finding all the great Men that were disaffected at the Court, gathering about the *Infante*, and encouraging him in his Design to retire, did his utmost with the King, to perswade him to satisfy his Brother's Demands, but could not prevail : He waited himself upon the *Infante*, to signify his readiness to serve him ; but receiv'd from him a very harsh Answer. The *Infante* at last retires to a Country-House, about two Leagues from *Lisbon*, orders another to be provided for him against Winter, at *Almada*, on the other side of the Water : And it was given out, That he withdrew, because the Court could not hold him and the *Conde* together.

During the Separation of the two Brothers, their common Enemies hoped they would become irreconcilable, and that all things tended towards a Civil War. The *Infante* never came to Court, unless it were to wait on the Queen ; and she being taken with a slight Indisposition, prevail'd with him to stay in Town during her Illness, to avoid the trouble of coming to visit her in the Night, and returning at undue Hours. The Ministers laid hold on this Opportunity to



make up the Business so, that the *Infante* should choose what Gentleman he pleas'd, those only excepted, whom he had before named. Yet this Difference was not so made up, but the two Brothers continued disgusted at each other, especially the King; and he had so little Command of himself, that he took all Occasions to treat the *Infante* with the harshest Language, and to threaten him with worse Usage; he grew every Day in a worse Humour, as those about the *Infante* gave him Occasions to suspect they had Designs upon his Crown: As when despairing to get him sworn Prince, as they once design'd, they advis'd him to request of the King, that he might Command the Armies with the Title of *Constable* of the Kingdom; which, as the King was perswaded, was sought for only in order to take the Sword, and by that means the Scepter out of his Hand. His Jealousie thus increasing, his Anger against his Brother became more violent; and upon pretence of other Employments, he took Occasions to remove from about him, those he suspected to have put these Designs in his Head. While these things passed between the King, and the *Infante*, the Queen, on her part, was acting within the Court, in concert, as it were, with those without, in order to bring about the *Conde's* Ruin. He soon perceiv'd by her Pretensions, that this must be her Design; and, that if her Demands were satisfy'd, his Power was not like to be long-liv'd; and therefore, he either found, or made them so very difficult to be comply'd with, that her Majesty grew highly dissatisfy'd, and resolv'd entirely to break with him, taking a solemn Oath, That she would never speak to him more about

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Business. And it was not long before she had occasion, to make known her Resentments to the whole Court and Kingdom.

It happen'd that a certain *French-Man* was murder'd by a Carrier in the unfrequented Roads of *Alemtejo*. The Murderer had fled to a Church, and tho' he were forc'd from thence, yet before Justice could be done, it was first to be determin'd, Whether he had any Right to Sanctuary? For which Cause, and for want of sufficient Proof, the Trial was delay'd. About the same time a Difference arose between the High-Steward of the Queen's Household, a *French-Man*, and her Secretary, a *Portuguese*, about Matters relating to their several Places, and the Queen gave Orders to the Secretary of State, that this Business should be referr'd to two of the Judges; but the Secretary thought convenient to lay it before all the Judges, and to communicate it likewise to the Council of State: He waiting upon the Queen, about other Business, she took occasion to enquire, What had been done in these two Cases? The Secretary gave the Reason, why the Criminal was not yet try'd; and told her, That the other Business lay before the Council, and that it was necessary the *Conde de Castelmelhor* should be spoken to about it. The Queen, at naming of the *Conde*, flew into a violent Passion; and after having severely reprimanded the Secretary of State, for not having done his Duty, by punctually observing her Orders; she told him, ' That she wonder'd he should tell her of the *Conde*, since she had sworn, never to have more to do with him; who, by thwarting her in every thing, had reduced her to a State of Beggary; he al-



ways wanting Power, when her Occasions re-  
 quir'd it, tho' at no time else : That for these  
 eight Months, she had not so much as an Alms  
 to give, by reason of his obstructing the Con-  
 signment of 20000 Crowns granted her by the  
 King : That a great deal of Artifice was used in  
 concealing Matters from her ; as if she, next  
 the King, was not the most concern'd in all Af-  
 fairs. And knowing how much she laid to  
 Heart, the Duke of *Cadaval's* Return, they  
 had not given her any Account of that Busi-  
 ness, notwithstanding her having so often in-  
 terceded for him, as intercede she would, let  
 them blame her for it as much as they pleas'd ;  
 that it was enough to set them against any Per-  
 son, to see her appear in his Favour, even  
 when she had Reason for it ; and when she  
 desir'd any thing, were it never so feasible, it  
 became impossible ; and that for no other Rea-  
 son, but because she desir'd it That, it seems,  
 they affected to let the World know, that she  
 had no share in the Government ; and for her  
 part, she was glad of it, as having no share in  
 the Blame. That she desired not to have Mat-  
 ters submitted to her Determination ; however,  
 she thought it was but Manners in them, to  
 make her acquainted with what they did : But  
 they had no regard to Decency. And some  
 People took a Pleasure in crossing her, and  
 were so proud, that, it seems, they thought  
 she came to *Portugal*, not to be their Queen, but  
 their Slave.

These, and other passionate Expressions of her  
 Majesty, put the poor Secretary into a Passion too ;  
 he, after having excused himself about the man-  
 ner of his executing her Orders, in Answer to  
 her

her Complaints, told her : ‘ That the *Conde*,  
 ‘ and his Friends, had made it their Business to  
 ‘ serve, and please her Majesty. That it was  
 ‘ none of his Fault, if she was in any Straits,  
 ‘ that being no part of his Business. That her  
 ‘ Majesty had her Revenues ; and it was hoped,  
 ‘ she would proportion her Expences according  
 ‘ to them. That the Conignment of 20000  
 ‘ Crowns was a new thing, and not easily settled.  
 ‘ That she had been made acquainted  
 ‘ with all Matters of Importance ; and nothing  
 ‘ of any Consequence had been kept from her  
 ‘ Knowledge, that the Court was full of unreasonable Pretenders ; who, if favoured by her  
 ‘ Majesty, might engage her in the prosecution  
 ‘ of their unjust Demands. That he could give  
 ‘ her no account concerning the Duke’s Return  
 ‘ to Court, the King having himself come to a  
 ‘ Resolution in that matter, that for their parts,  
 ‘ they did not know how to please her, since  
 ‘ she was not satisfy’d, after they had done all  
 ‘ they could to serve her, she having been treated  
 ‘ with so much Respect, that no Queen ever  
 ‘ had so great an Authority. But coming to  
 that part of her Complaint, wherein she said,  
 she had been treated like a Slave, he chang’d his  
 Note, and in *Portuguese* (for he had spoken  
*French* before), he boldly told her, ‘ That her  
 ‘ Majesty was abus’d by some about her, who  
 ‘ deserv’d to be chastis’d ; had no Reason to  
 ‘ complain of the *Portugueses*, since the Respect  
 ‘ they paid her, came little short of Adoration.  
 The Queen, after a warm Reply, wherein she  
 said, She knew how to distinguish between the  
 good and the bad *Portugueses* : There being not  
 above three or four that she complain’d of ; and



signifying what she would do to those that had enrich'd themselves with the Rents belonging to the Queens of *Portugal* ; commanded the Secretary not to speak so loud. He told her, That if he spake loud, it was, that all the World might hear what he said. The Queen bad him hold his Peace, and be gone. He not departing presently, she rose from her Seat, and was going away ; the Secretary imprudently laid his Hand upon her Gown, either to kiss it, according to Custom, at her departure, to signify his Desire, that she would hear him out ; but seeing her resolv'd to be gone, he cry'd out to the Noblemen and Ladies present, *That he was unworthily us'd, no King having ever treated a Vassal in this manner.*

The Person who had this Dispute with her Majesty, was *Antonio de Souza de Macedo*, before mention'd, as one of the first that came in to the King at *Alcantara* : I cannot tell what he was by Birth ; but in himself he was a Person of Noble Qualities, as appear'd afterwards by his Constancy in the Service of his Master, and his Friend ; he was a Man of Letters, and a Doctor in the Laws. After the Revolt from the *Spaniards*, he had written with great Zeal and Eloquence in defence of his Country's Cause, and went Secretary to the solemn Embassy, which King *John* sent to our King *Charles* the First, to acquaint him, of his having assum'd the Crown of *Portugal*, and, upon King *Charles's* Demand, to know on what Right his Master's Claim was founded ; he drew up a Paper, which entirely satisfy'd his Majesty. In *England* he continued Resident for several Years, and was very serviceable to the King, in the time of his Troubles. From hence  
he

he went Ambassador to *Holland*, and in a very difficult Negotiation, he acquitted himself much to his Master's Satisfaction, and his own Credit; and at his Return, he was highly esteem'd at Court: And the *Conde* could not do a more grateful thing to the Nobility, than prefer him, as he did, to the place of Secretary of State, tho' perhaps he might have some regard to himself, as well as to the Publick, in advancing this Man: The *Conde* was young, and *Antonio de Sousa* well practis'd in Business, and by his Counsels may have been of as great use to the *Conde*, as the *Conde* was to the King. It is certain, that he drew up Instructions for him to observe, in the Administration of the Government; and as the *Conde* was to be destroy'd, before the King could be depos'd, so it is very probable, that this Quarrel was pick'd on purpose with *Antonio de Sousa*, in order to make way for the *Conde's* Ruin.

The King coming to understand what had passed between the Queen and him, did his endeavour to pacifie her Majesty, promising, that the Secretary should be severely punish'd; but the Queen would not be appeas'd. It unluckily fell out, that this Broil happen'd at the time of Bull-feast: The first Day was over, and her Majesty could not be prevail'd upon to appear the second Day: So that to conceal the Matter from the People, the Bull-running was put off for that Day, upon pretence, that the King was indispos'd; and she continuing out of Humour still, the King was fain to be indispos'd the next, and the following Days; and by that time things were brought to such a pass, that an end was put to all Sports and Pastimes for this King's Reign. The Queen took so little care to conceal her Anger, that the People soon came to know  
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the Cause, why the Bull-running was put off, and began to murmur loudly against the Court, that their new Queen should be so much abus'd ; and, perhaps, their Disappointment did not a little serve to raise their Clamours. The Queen would be satisfy'd with nothing less, than the Secretary's being turn'd out of his Place, and banish'd from the Court ; which the *Conde* was very unwilling to consent to, as thinking, that should he give way to her in this Case, he was like to be the next Man that should fall a Sacrifice to her Resentments ; however, the Court perceiving a Storm ready to break upon them from another Quarter, it was resolv'd in Council, that the Secretary should absent himself from Court for ten or twelve Days ; and that the King should communicate this Order to the Queen, and acquaint her, That it was made only to content her Majesty ; and that it was hoped, she would engage her self no more in such Matters for the future, to prevent the ill Consequences that might ensue to the State. Pursuant to this Order, the Secretary, to please the Queen, departs from Court ; but the King forbore to communicate the Order to her, for fear of exasperating her further, at a time when he had his Hands full of another more troublesome Business.

While these things were done above-board, a secret Plot was carrying on, among the Heads of the discontented Party, to seize upon the *Conde*, and carry him off in the same manner, as *Conti* had been serv'd before. The *Conde* having Information of their Design, may be supposed to have made the more hast to satisfy the Queen's Complaints : For the very next Day, he ordered the Guards about the Palace to be doubled,  
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the Cavalry to be mounted, and the Centinels plac'd at the Avenues ; and, as 'tis said, Command was given to the Soldiers, to fall upon certain Noblemen, in case they endeavour'd to get into the Court, it being suppos'd that they were coming to execute the Design.

Hereupon several Messages past between the *Infante*, and the Court ; the *Infante* complaining, That the *Conde*, by arming the Palace, had insinuated, as if he was designing to violate it ; for which he requires Reparation of Honour ; accusing the *Conde* withal, of attempting upon his Life by Poison ; and therefore desires, that he might be removed from about the King's Person, in order to his Punishment. The King takes upon himself the doubling of the Guards, and offers to send the *Conde* to throw himself at the *Infante's* Feet : The *Infante* refuses to take this for Satisfaction, and insists upon the *Conde's* removal. The King offers to do him all Justice, and desires him to name the *Conde's* Accusers, in order to his Tryal : But this the *Infante* would not yield to, unless the *Conde* left the Court first ; threatning, that if he continued there, he himself would depart the Kingdom. The King orders the Case to be drawn up, and laid before a Consult of the Counsellors of State, the Chancellor, Judges, &c. and it was concluded among them, by the Majority of Votes, That the *Infante* not being a Sovereign Prince, his bare Affirmation was not to be taken for Proof ; that the Suspension and Removal of the *Conde*, was in it self a Punishment, as it reflected Dishonour upon him and his Family ; but that he ought not to be punish'd, 'till some Proof was made of his Crime. The *Infante* would not yield, that the  
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Cafe had been fairly stated, or the Votes free ; and signifies the same in a Letter to the King, wherein he expresses his Resentments of the whole Proceeding with some heat.

While the Business was thus agitated by way of Letters and Messages, each side was seeking by other ways to make his Party good, the *Infante* had written to the Courts of Justice, the Chamber and Council of *Lisbon*, to acquaint them with his Case, sending them Copies of his Letters to the King. He afterwards called together at his Palace, the Counsellors of State, and the Nobility, to inform them of what had past ; among whom, besides those that had been all along devoted to the Cause, the *Conde* had gain'd himself many new Enemies, by his Advancement, and his over-haughty Carriage, (as it seem'd to them) in the time of his Greatness : And the Party was so strong against him, that 'twas now evident his Ruin was at hand : For many of those fawning Wretches, on whom, by a Fault common, as 'tis said, to great Men, he had misplac'd his Favours, having rais'd them by his Bounty, were now not only ready to abandon him, but they would needs be employ'd in avenging the *Infante's* Quarrel upon their Benefactor. The *Infante*, at the beginning of this Broil, was made to remonstrate in his Letters, *That if the King refus'd to do him Justice, he should be forc'd to leave the Kingdom, and end his Days in a foreign Country.* But was now put upon another Resolution, which was to retire to the Province *Tras Os Montes*, and join that part of the Army, which was commanded by the *Conde de St. John*, one of his principal Confidents, many  
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of the disaffected Nobility proffering themselves to follow him, and share in his Fortunes.

The *Conde*, upon the *Infante's* first Complaint, petition'd the King for leave to retire; but it appearing, that the Contrivers of all this Bustle, aim'd not so much at the *Conde's* removal from the Government, as the King's, who was not like to stand long after the Fall of his Minister, he was oblig'd to continue at Court; and they were not wanting about the King, that were putting him upon vigorous Resolutions, which might, if followed, have recovered his expiring Authority: Some advis'd him to go in Person to *Corte Real* (the *Infante's* Palace) attended with his Counsellors of State, the Nobility and Officers of the Army, and Arrest the *Infante*, together with the *Camarists* (those he had nam'd for Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, suppos'd to be the Managers of all this Disturbance); but this Counsel never took effect; some think, because it was delay'd so long, that the *Infante* being inform'd of the Design, had time enough to put himself in a posture of Defence; it is certain, that he immediately after declared, He would run the same Fortune with his Gentlemen, and never suffer them to be Arrested. It is reported of a certain Person, and, as I remember, I have been shewn the Man, that he came and offer'd to the King, and *Conde*, That with his Majesty's Leave, he would go to *Corte Real*, and give a good Account of the *Camarists*; but this Proposal was reject'd, as it well deserved to be. The great Courage the King us'd to shew on other Occasions, to the loss of his Credit, now fail'd him when he had so much need of it, his

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Authority and his Honour lying as they did, at stake. He seems to have been so much sunk at this time, as to become incapable of conceiving, or entertaining a Resolution befitting a King in his Circumstances.

The *Conde*, when he saw that he cou'd do no good any other way, wou'd have had him retire to *Alemtejo*, and there put himself at the Head of his Army, there being reason to believe, that the main Body would prove faithful to him, after having gain'd so many signal Victories under his short Reign. Both sides were endeavouring about this time, to make a Party among the Soldiery ; the *Infante* had wholly gain'd the *Conde de St. John* ; but he had receiv'd Orders from Court, that neither himself, nor any Person under his Command, shou'd stir out of his Province 'till further order ; and it could not be in his power to do any great harm, supposing the rest continued in their Duty. The Commanders had been made acquainted with the Differences at Court by the King's Order, who had signified to them his Resolution to protect the *Conde*, representing the *Infante's* Complaints as groundless. The Fleet likewise, which had been cruising on the Coasts, was commanded into the River, and Order given, that none belonging to it should come ashore without leave.

It does not appear, that they who were for setting up the *Infante*, durst as yet openly solicit the Army. It's true, the Queen had a very strong Party in it, as appears by the strict Guard that was kept on the Frontiers this Year, to prevent the coming of any Overtures of Peace from *Castille* ; which the *French* Faction, that was headed by the Queen, labour'd all they could to hinder ;

der; but it was not as yet pretended, that the King and Queen had separate Interests. However, her Majesty was working under-hand to promote the Grand Design, founding the Inclinations of those in Command, against the time when it should be ripe for Execution. Count *Schomberg*, who was General of the Strangers, and had, in effect, at this time, the Direction of the whole Army, was oblig'd by Orders from *France*, to hold Correspondence with the Queen, and to support her Interest. The Queen took occasion to acquaint him, by Letters, how that all things were like to run to Ruin through *Alfonso's* Extravagances, should he continue in the Government, desiring to know of the Count, What Reckoning might be made of the Officers in the Army, in case the Differences at Court came to an open Rupture? It is not probable, for Reasons to be mention'd anon, that the Count gave her any great Encouragement to proceed in the Design; however, he did as he was order'd, and inform'd her Majesty, how the principal Commanders stood affected, and what might be expected from each of them severally in the Case propos'd; he was so very particular in his Account, that it took up about four Sheets of Paper; and this Pacquet had like to have preserv'd the King, and ruin'd the adverse Party; for it narrowly escap'd falling into his Majesty's Hands: Had he been Master of it, it might not only have given him great Light into the Plot, but directed him whom to secure, and whom he might trust in: The Story is very remarkable, even in its minutest Circumstances, which shew how all things conspired to the Destruction of this unhappy Prince; and it will be no Digression



on from our Subject to tell it ; which I shall the rather do, because I am assured, that the Substance of what follows, came from the late Duke *Schomberg's* own Mouth.

It being somewhat late when this Pacquet was convey'd to the Queen, her Majesty ordered those that attended to retire, after having set up a Light at her Bed's-Head, for that she had some particular Devotions to perform that Night. She took the Papers with her to Bed, and there they remain'd, when she fell asleep. The next Morning before the Queen was up, News came, that the King was gone to Chapel ; and it being the Custom for them both to hear Mass, in the Tribunal together, the Queen was oblig'd to get ready in all haste, and her haste was so great, that she never minded her Papers ; yet she could not get so soon into the Chapel, but the Elevation, which is the essential part of the Mass, was over before she came ; so she was fain to stay for another Mass, the King retiring when the first was ended. When the King was gone, the Queen bethought her self of her Papers, and sent *de Ville*, the Jesuit, her Confessor, (who was in the Secret, and is suppos'd to have instigated her Majesty to what she was acting against her Husband ) to secure them : *de Ville* coming to the Chamber-door, found that the King was got there before him, and he having no Privilege to enter, while the Queen was absent, stood there for some time, and heard the King walking about the Room, and talking aloud, as if he were in some heat, to the *Condeça de Castelmelhor*, the *Conde's* Mother, and chief Lady of the Bed-Chamber to the Queen : With these doleful Tidings, the *Jesuit* returns to the Queen.

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Her Majesty upon this, sends one of her Ladies to see, whether there were any hopes of retrieving the Papers. The Lady, upon her coming, found that the King had thrown himself upon the Bed. This being told her Majesty, she found it absolutely necessary for her to go her self; but Mass was not near done: And what Pretence could she have to leave it? Or how should she hinder People from enquiring into the Cause of this sudden Motion? *De Ville* was at her Elbow; he suggested to her, that she should be suddenly taken with a Fainting-fit: His Counsel was put in Practice, her Majesty swooning away immediately; and in this Condition she was carried from the Tribunal into her Chamber. The King surpriz'd, and concern'd at his Queen's Illness, would have had the Bed set in order for her to be put into it; had he been obey'd, her Majesty might have had a Fit in earnest; for the Papers lay under some Cloaths that were upon the Bed: The Fright brought her Majesty to her self so far, as that she desired them without more ado, to lay her upon the Bed immediately; this done, she felt about for the Papers, found they were safe; and, in a little time, all was well again.

But whatever were the Contents of these Papers, it seems, the Queen did not think it advisable for the *Infante* to put himself upon the Army: For, in truth, those that she had greatest Reason to depend upon, who were the *French*, were like to give him but a cold Reception; it was not for their Interest, at that time, to have the *Portugueses* embroil'd in a Civil War, while they should be finding Work for the *Spaniards*, in order to facilitate the *French* King's Conquests



in *Flanders*. As for the *English*, who together with the *French*, made a good part of the Army, they had been sent into *Portugal* to serve King *Alfonso*; and it was not to be thought, that they wou'd, upon any account, draw their Swords against him; nor is it credible, but the *Conde*, who had the disposal of all Places for above five Years together, must have had Friends enough among the *Portugueses* themselves, to make the King's Party good; so that of the two, it was doubtless the best way for the King to betake himself to the Army: The *Conde*, who was the best Judge in the Case, thought, that as things stood, it was the safest, if not the only Course he cou'd take, to secure himself; and he had once brought in the Mind to follow this Advice, which was when he was just upon leaving the Court himself; it being then resolv'd, that the King should pass into *Alemtejo* in Disguise, attended by the *Conde*: But when this Project was to be put in Execution, the King fell off, and all the *Conde's* Remonstrances cou'd not prevail with him to move from *Lisbon*. His Enemies say, That he was so much in love with his Divertisements, that he cou'd not bear the Thoughts of discontinuing them: And, in order to keep his Brother at home too, he wrote him a most loving Letter, inviting him to Court, and dissuading him from his Resolution to retire, telling him, *That he shou'd choose rather to come to him, who was ready to receive him with open Arms, and with all the Love that was due to a Friend, a Brother, a Son, and (should he fail of Issue) the Successor to his Kingdoms.* But as these kind Words were not believ'd to come from his Heart, they rendred him the more contemptible to his Enemies.

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While these things were transacting, the Rabble of *Lisbon* was up, and in a Fury against those that should occasion the *Infante's* Departure; but resolv'd withal to put a stop to his Journey, for fear of seeing themselves involv'd in a Civil War: For the poor People had been strangely confounded at a certain Prophecy, which was then buzzed among them: *That a Day was coming on, when the Rua Nova (the chief Street in Lisbon) was to be overflown with Humane Blood, so that the Horses should be bemired in Gore.* And they were under terrible Apprehensions, that their Eyes were now to see the sad Day. But however, the *Infante's* Party had made so much Noise of his retiring, that he could not handsomely draw back, without giving up the Cause; for now all that could be done against the Court, next to offering downright Violence, had been done already; and all would have been to no purpose, should this Design be laid aside: For the Court, when let alone, might in a little time recover its Authority. On the other side, should they persist to send away the *Infante*, the Rage of the Multitude might have been turn'd upon themselves, (for the Court had been tampering with the Ringleaders); and in case they got safe to the Army, they were like, for the Reasons now mentioned, to find but little Welcome.

And now it was high time for the Queen to appear again: Her Majesty therefore sends *De Ville* to the *Infante*, to know, whether her Mediation might be acceptable to him? and if so, to desire he would defer his Journey, while she endeavoured to make up the Business. No sooner was the Queen nam'd, but the *Infante*, accord-



ing to the *Portuguese* Gallantry, was ready to prostrate himself at her Feet, and commit his Cause and all to her disposal.

It does not appear by what means the King was brought to agree to this Arbitration; but agree to it he did, tho' the *Conde's* Removal, without any mention made of his Return, was a kind of preliminary Article; whereas the *Infante* had all along desir'd no more, than that he should be suspended from his Charges for a limited time. While the Treaty was on foot, the *Conde* was urgent with the King to betake himself to his Army; but not prevailing, he desir'd of the Queen, that his Life and Honour might be secured to him under the *Infante's* Hand: And this being presently granted, he, at the head of the King's Horse-Guards, retired to the *Arabida*, a Convent of *Capucins*, Seven Leagues from *Lisbon*, leaving the Court prepared for Ruin, which he had hitherto supported, and might, as 'twas thought, have preserv'd still, had his Counsels prevail'd. 'Tis reported, that coming from the King, after his last Conference, his Indignation burst forth so far, that he should say: *He was going off; but it was for want of a King to stand by him.*

This Storm was scarce blown over, the King being yet disabled by it, when the Queen, without giving him time to recollect himself, rais'd another more violent upon him, by which he was overwhelm'd at last; his Majesty now wanting one on whose Counsels he might rely on in so difficult a Juncture, resolv'd to call *Antonio de Sousa de Macedo*, to Court again, the time of his Banishment being out, and made it his Request to the Queen, That by her Favour he might have  
leave

leave to return ; but tho' he frequently renewed his Intreaties, she would not hear him ; and when he began to grow importunate, she flatly told him, *That he might restore him by his Absolute Power, if he thought fit ; but for her part, he should never have her Consent.* The King, in hopes to prevail, by shewing that he desired nothing but what was reasonable, sent her a Copy of the forementioned Order of Council ; but this, instead of satisfying her, put her Majesty into such a Passion, that after having express'd her Anger in a very strange manner, by Letter to the King, she lock'd her self up, and would speak to no Body. The King no less offended at her Carriage, is said to have expressed his Sentiments of it in very blunt Terms : Upon this the Secretary, who is suppos'd to have lain conceal'd at Court all the while, appear'd there publicly again, but came withal well armed, and well attended, to defend himself from any Assault that should be made upon his Person ; yet he was not like to stand out long against them that had destroyed his Patron. He was soon made a more dangerous Person about the King, than the *Conde* himself had been ; and the People were not a little confirm'd in this Opinion of him, by Rumors spread among them, That the King was at last determined to leave the Court, at the Head of his Guards, and to summon the *Fidalgo's* about the *Infante*, to attend him ; and if they refus'd, to enter the City with his Troops, and put all Things to Fire and Sword ; and that a List was making of such whose Heads were to be chop'd off on this occasion.

The truth is, *Antonio de Sousa*, upon his coming into the Ministry (for he was designed to



supply the *Conde's* Place) had given the Alarm to the *Camarists*. By his Advice care was taken to keep the three Regiments that were about the City well affected to the King, and an Officer was appointed to Command them, that should be ready on occasion to execute the King's Orders : It was observed likewise, that this Officer, together with the three Colonels, were sometimes call'd for to Court ; and 'tis said , as they were made acquainted with a Design, that *de Soufa* was putting the King upon, which was to seize upon the leading Men of the Faction ; and that they did not only approve of it, but engag'd themselves by a solemn Promise, to put it in execution : But 'tis said withal, that this Project, as well as another, to secure the General of the Army, then attending at Court, to serve the *Infante*, as 'twas thought, rather than the King, came to nothing ; the King being unwilling to come to a Resolution, 'till he had imparted the Matter to the *Conde de Val de Reys*, who being a timorous Man himself, was all for using fair means. However, the appearance of those Officers about the Court, put the Cabal into a Fright ; they easily perswaded themselves, that no Good was meant towards them, and therefore they thought themselves concern'd, as they valued their own Safety, to get this evil Counsellor, *Antonio de Soufa*, remov'd out of the way. In order to bring this about, it was first thought convenient to render him odious to the People ; and to effect that, was no hard matter, he being a Person of such a Character, that his Enemies could not wish for a fitter Man to set the Mob upon. He was indeed a Man of nice Honour, and unbiass'd Integrity, a passionate Lover of his

his Country, and for his Insight into Affairs, and Capacity for Business, thoroughly qualified for the Post he was in ; and at his return into his Country, had been esteem'd accordingly by such as were in a higher Sphere, that had Opportunities to know the Man : But his Merit was not like to gain him the Good-will of his Equals, it must almost necessarily have enraged them against him, considering how unpardonable a Crime it appears to most Peoples Eyes, for one that hath been of their Rank, to advance himself above their Level. It is certain, that all his good Qualifications were not of themselves sufficient to make him Popular ; on the contrary, they were attended in him, as they sometimes may be, with certain little Weaknesses, that rendred him disagreeable to the Many ; these were obvious to the common View, whereas it was not every one that could understand his Worth ; there was something in his Carriage, that made him appear morose, sour, and peevish, whereby he became uneasie to such as had Business with him, especially those of the meaner sort, who are always the most apt to interpret every seeming Neglect, for a sign of Contempt ; and here all manner of People are continually addressing themselves to the Secretary of State, so that it is almost impossible for any Person in that Place, to avoid disgusting great Numbers of Pretenders, especially in such turbulent and factious Times as these were, when the Fate of the Great Ones depends upon the good pleasure of the People, and they expect to be caress'd and courted accordingly. But *Antonio de Sousa*, whether it was, that having his Head fill'd with other Business, he cou'd the less bear with the many



Impertinences that one in his Station must be perpetually plagued with ; or that being strictly honest himself, he could have no Complaisance for such Ill-meaning and Ill-designing Persons of all sorts, as he must have had to deal with ; either had not, or he did not make much use of the Art of Managing a Multitude. He was so unhappy in this respect, that even when he yielded to the Demands of those that applied themselves to him, he did it with so ill a Grace, that he could hardly please them. This rough Behaviour was no doubt the worse taken in him, for that the People had been accustom'd to other Usage, and that by the *Conde de Castelmelhor*, whose greater Quality might have made the same thing seem tolerable in him, which wou'd have appear'd unsufferable in *Antonio de Sousa*. But the *Conde* us'd to carry himself after quite another manner ; for having the advantage of a more Court-like Education, he had such easie and engaging Ways with him, that he cou'd dismiss a disappointed Pretender not dissatisfied. It is the Observation of a Gentleman, that was a Publick Minister at *Lisbon* about this time, and who in other respects gives *de Sousa* his just Character : *That People would sometimes go away much better satisfied with the Conde's graceful Denial, than the untoward Grant of Antonio de Sousa.*

One so little in Favour with the People already, might easily be traduc'd to them, and made to pass for as ill a Man as Enemies were pleas'd to make him ; Accordingly, those dismal Stories, concerning his murderous Intentions against the Nobility, and good People of the City that wish'd well to the *Infante*, were greedily swallow'd by the prepossess'd Multitude.

And

And besides the Havock he was to make amongst them, it was found, that he, and his Servants, had their Pistols, and their Carbines with them in the Secretary's Office, which was call'd fortifying the Palace; and that cou'd be done with no other intent, but to kill the *Infante*, tho' he now seldom or never came there, and to destroy all that should come to take his part. These Discoveries wrought so effectually in the Peoples Heads, that they dispos'd them for another Mutiny, and brought 'em flocking to *Corte Real*, fully resolv'd to stand by the *Infante*, against all the wicked Plots of *Antonio de Sousa*.

Things being thus in a readiness, the *Infante* was carried to the Palace, attended by a confus'd Multitude of disaffected Nobility and Rabble, and all to demand Justice against the Secretary of State; and that, not so much for his Cut-throat Designs, for those may be suppos'd to have been contriv'd only to bring the People together, as for his want of Respect to the Queen, and the horrid Outrage committed by him on her Majesty's Person, when he laid his Hand upon her Gown. This was on the Fifth of *October* in the Morning, while the King was yet in his Chamber; the *Infante* staid at the Door for some of the Counsellors of State to go in with him; when they entred the Chamber, the King was so surpriz'd at their appearance, that while the *Infante* was telling his Story, he in a great Rage call'd for his Sword. The *Infante* presenting him with the Guard of his own, said, as 'tis reported: *Sir, If you want a Sword against me, make use of mine; if against any other, this shall defend you.* The Noise brought the Queen into the Chamber; who presently fell a beseeching his



his Majesty, not to be in such a Passion. The King would hearken to none of them, being perswaded, as he said, that they had murdered the Secretary amongst them. They assured him, that he was alive : But the King would not believe them 'till he saw him ; whereupon the Duke of *Cadaval* went and fetch'd him from a private Room, where the poor Man had lock'd himself up, promising him Life if he would go with him ; and he very honourably kept his Word, tho' it was not without some difficulty ; for the Passage was crowded with Rabble, whose Fingers itch'd to be at the Secretary ; and had certainly fall'n upon him, and torn him in pieces, had not the Duke turn'd about, and with an Air of Authority said, Antonio de Sousa *goes along with me*. The King was somewhat satisfied at the sight of him, but not appeas'd ; hereupon the Queen retired, and the *Infante* after her, into the Anti-Chamber. The Secretary being left alone with the King, gave him such Advice as preserv'd him for that time, and defeated the Design of some that were Ringleaders in the Tumult. Had the Violence of the King's Passion continued, it had in all likelihood provoked the Rabble to some further Outrage ; but he became calm and easie, and thereby still'd the Fury of the People, who when their first Heat was over, on a sudden began to relent. While the King and the Secretary were yet together, a Voice was heard crying, *All's well, All's well* ; which whether it began in the King's Chamber, or was rais'd by some Friend of his in the Crowd, the People fell a repeating. The Queen was retired into her Apartment, but the Noise brought her out again ; possibly she was surpriz'd, and  
not

not well pleas'd with it. The King coming out, found her and the *Infante* together, in the Anti-Chamber ; and, by the Secretary's Advice, took them with him to one of the Windows that looks into the *Terreiro do Paço*, a large Square before the Palace, shewing himself in their Company to the People below ; who seeing them all three together, thought that all Quarrels were now at an end, and saluted the King with their loud *Viva's*, as the King was retiring, either himself, or some about him cry'd out, *The King pardons every Body* ; the Mob took the Cry again. A certain Lord, vex'd perhaps that the great Bustle they had been making, was like to end in this, call'd out to the King, and with an Heroical Boldness, as those engag'd in the same Cause term it ; the Indifferent perhaps will give it another Name, told him, *That they wou'd have none of his Pardon, but Thanks*. The poor King answered, *That he gave them his Pardon and his Thanks too*. The surly Man reply'd, *They wou'd have nothing but Thanks*. But some were still for deposing the King out of hand : One near the *Infante* crying out, *Let's e'en clap him up at once, and make an end of the Business* : Which shews what they had been aiming at all the while ; but the *Infante* turning quick upon the Person that spoke this, put him to Silence with so stern a Look, as shew'd that he himself had been abus'd by them, as well as the King his Brother ; and 'tis reported, that some of the King's Party should confess, *That the King had let fall the Crown this Day, which the Infante took up, and put again upon his Head*.

But



But the Faction had engag'd that Prince so far, that it was now too late to think of a Retreat, and something was to be done at this time, or all they had been acting hitherto, was like to end in their own ruine. The King had still his trusty Officers, with the Three Regiments, at Command, who were they to receive Orders from *Antonio de Sousa*, might after all, enable him to call them to account. As for the Mob, this Day's Transaction shew'd, that they were not much to be depended on, their Rage dying away as it did, when the Business came just to a Crisis, even whilst all those horrid Stories that had been spread amongst them, with so much Industry, were fresh upon their Minds; and should they now disperse, when nothing had been done, the same Artifice was not like to serve again; they might Cool and come to themselves, and possibly, in time, be entirely disabus'd, and then it wou'd be a hard matter to bring them together, when there shou'd be further occasion for them. Such, and the like considerations, went, no doubt, a great way to fix them in the Resolution they then took; which was, to keep Possession of the Palace, 'till they had gain'd the Point that had been the Pretence of their coming thither, which was the Removal of *Antonio de Sousa*; this they knew the King wou'd never content to: He was by this time sensible of his Error, in parting so easily as he did, with the *Conde*, and fully resolv'd to keep *Antonio de Sousa* near him, who was now the only support he had left. He had shewn in the Morning, how great a Value he had for the Man; when thinking he was kill'd, he cou'd not forbear to repeat his Meanaces to the Company that came to him  
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in his Chamber , as well attended as they were, that he wou'd see them severely punish'd whoever they shou'd be that had a hand in the Murder ; And while he was passing to and fro through the Rabble , he wou'd always have him by his side, and not suffer him to be out of his sight ; as if he thought, that whatever Mischief was done to the Secretary, was much the same as if it had befall'n his own Person. But the Faction, on the other side, were satisfi'd, that they cou'd never be safe whilst this Man was suffer'd to be at Court ; and therefore, it was concluded amongst them, to keep the *Infante* in the Palace 'till the Secretary was gone ; they making him declare, that now he was there, he wou'd never stir 'till he had effected the Business he come about ; and Orders were given, that Necessaries shou'd be got ready for his Lodging. The Secretary being given to understand, that in case he remain'd there that Night, he was like to sleep his last. This was the best Course they could take, to hinder the Rabble from dispersing ; who either in expectation of some great Mischief to ensue, or for fear lest the *Infante's* Person should be in danger, would be sure to keep about the Palace. In effect, this Resolution did their Business, and ruin'd the King : For the Secretary, tho' he was not to be frightned with either Threats or Dangers, while there was any hopes left of his being serviceable to his distressed Master, as he shew'd by his embarking himself in an almost desperate Cause ; yet seeing now, that should he persist any longer, all he could do was to get himself murdered ; which probably would but make the Faction the more desperate, and hasten their Design upon the King ; he promis'd  
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to be gone as soon as 'twas dark, it not being safe for him to appear in the Street before ; and two Persons of Quality undertaking, that he should keep his Word, the *Infante* return'd in Triumph to his own Palace, attended as before.

The next Morning the King finding the Secretary gone, as also *Manoel Antunes*, who had made the same Conditions for himself, sends all about to look for them, ordering all the Convents to be search'd. *Antunes* was found in *Alemtejo* ; but the *Infante* took care he should come no more to Court.

The *Infante*, before this Business, had been very seldom at Court, ever since the *Conde's* departure ; the Queen, as it is like, afraid of a Reconciliation between the two Brothers, which would defeat her Designs, sending him word, That it would be dangerous for him to appear there ; and now when all were gone, that they had any Pretence of Complaint against, he had the same Messages sent to him as before, which kept him still at a distance from the King ; who, as I have been assured by one that had good Reason to know, how things pass'd at Court in those Days, had, during all these Broils, some Remains of Love or Tenderneſs rather for his Brother ; believing, that the young Prince was only made the Instrument of other Peoples Malice. This, I confess, seem'd to me somewhat unlikely, considering what had past between them, 'till the same Person told me ; That *Alfonso*, afterwards, when a Prisoner, hearing the Noise of the Guns, and Ringing of Bells, for the *Infante's* Marriage with the Queen, when he was told the Cause of this Joy, instead of expressing  
his

his Resentments of his own hard Usage, fell a lamenting the Misfortunes of his poor Brother *Pedro* ; *Who*, as he said, would, in a short time, have enough of the French-Woman, and as much cause as himself to repent, that he ever had any thing to do with her. But to return :

*Alfonso* having now none near him that he could advise with, being himself young, and unacquainted with Business, was for the short time that remain'd of his Reign, on all occasions, at a loss how to comport himself; the *Conde*, for some time after his removal, us'd to be ever and anon sending him Instructions, but he had now none with him to carry on the Correspondence, and therefore was wholly to seek what Measures he should take; sometimes he would refuse to be present at the Council, as when he was there, to confirm their Decrees. The Chamber of *Lisbon* was set on to Petition him for calling the *Cortes*, and he being sensible that this was in order to lay him aside, sometimes would refuse to hear them; or when they were admitted, to return them any Answer: Some there were, and those perhaps none of his greatest Enemies, for having him to allow the Queen, and the *Infante*, a Joint-share with him in the Government; but he would hear no Talk of it: The Council, at last, after many Denials, obtain'd his Consent for calling the *Cortes*; but when they had got the Writs ready, they could not prevail with him to sign them. Whether he shew'd so much Irresolution and Inconstancy out of Weakness or Design, is uncertain; his Enemies would have the World believe, it proceeded from the former, and had the Barbarity to publish several weak things, which they report  
him



him to have said, during the time of these Broils; when, perhaps, a wiser Man in his Circumstances, might have found himself at his Wit's-end. But it appear'd, that he was preparing for an Escape into *Alemtejo*, and that his Horses, as also several Barks, to transport them over the River, had been getting ready for that purpose; so 'tis not unlikely, but that he behav'd himself in the manner he did, to keep his Enemies in suspense, and from coming to a Resolution, 'till he could get out of their Hands, and be at liberty to call his Friends about him; but they that were then strongest, prevented this Design.

While things were thus at a stand, the Queen, who us'd frequently to visit the Nunneries, especially that of the *Esperança*, (of the *Franciscan* Order, where several Ladies of Honour were profest) took occasion, Nov. 21<sup>st</sup>, in the Evening, to go thither in her Coach with her usual Attendance; as soon as she was within the Nunnery, she sent a Letter to the King to this purpose, *That she had left her Country, her Relations, and Friends, and sold her Estate, to come and accompany his Majesty, in hopes that what she did, might be to his Satisfaction; and was inconsolable, that she had not been able to attain to what she so much desired; that, as obliged in Conscience, she was now resolv'd to return into France, in the Ships that were then in the River, for which end she desired his Majesty's Consent; and hoped, that he would order her Dower to be return'd her, since his Majesty knew very well that she was none of his Wife, &c.* The King, when this Letter was brought him, was making ready to ride out into the Fields; but he no sooner understood the Contents of it, than enraged at this the most sensible

ble Affront he had ever yet receiv'd, he put himself immediately into his Coach, and with great Fury drove to the *Esperança*, resolving to force the Nunnery ; and for that end, as soon as he got thither, was calling for Axes to hew down the Doors, when the *Infante* came to the place so well attended, that he oblig'd him to return to the Palace.

The next Day the Queen sent for the *Infante*, and afterwards for the Counsellors of State, and the Nobility about the Court. The Business that she had in common with the one and the others, was to acquaint them of her Resolution to return into *France*, and to desire that they would assist her in it. And much about the same time, she dispatch'd away for *France*, Monsieur *Verjus*, who serv'd her Majesty in place of a Secretary, but bore the Character of Agent for the House of *Vendome* ; and his Business was to procure a Dispensation, for her to marry with the *Infante*. The Queen gave Commission likewise to the *Infante*, to signify to the King, in a more formal manner, her Declaration concerning the Nullity of their Marriage, and to desire his Permission, for her Return into her own Country. When the *Infante* delivered his Message, the King, in answer to the first part of it, pretended to refute the Charge, and that, as his Enemies say, in very broad Terms : To the rest he return'd him but a slight Reply. However, he gave others that were about him to understand, that as sensibly touch'd as he was at this, above all the Misfortunes that had befall'n him, his Trouble did not proceed from his Regret for the loss of the Queen's Person ; he was so far from having any great Fondness for her Majesty, that he declar'd, *That*

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instead of putting a stop to her Journey, he was ready, on Condition she wou'd but be gone, to present her with a much better Ship than that she came upon, and to double the Money that she had brought along with her into the Bargain.

The Queen the same Day having made the Duke of Cadaval her Proctor, sent a Letter to the Chapter of Lisbon, to acquaint the Canons, That she had withdrawn her self from the King's Company, the Marriage they had agreed upon, not having taken effect; and because the Scruples of her Conscience, would not suffer her to endure any longer, what her Love to the Portuguese Nation had hitherto made her dissemble; she hoped the King, who was a better Witness in her Cause, would declare the same, that she might not be hindred from returning into France as soon as possible: And for the Chapter of the Holy See of this City, to whom it belonged to judge of the Cause by their Ministers, she earnestly desir'd them to take order, that it may be dispatch'd with all speed; and to allow all just Favour to a Stranger, afflicted with the Misfortune of not being able to live in a Country, which she had come from a far to seek, with so much pleasure; and they might assure themselves, that wheresoever she was, she should gratefully acknowledge the Kindness they did her.

The Chapter, which consists most of young Gentlemen that never were in Orders, and seldom design it, return'd Answer to her Majesty, That they had read her Letter, and were grieved at her Resolution of abandoning Portugal; telling her withal, that what Justice allow'd to particular Persons, could never be denied to her Majesty; but there being many Circumstances in the Case that required deliberation, they desired her Majesty to allow them convenient time to consider of it. The

The King, as much concern'd as he was in what the Queen was doing, had something else to do than to solicit his Cause with the Chapter ; for the same Day that she brought her Case before them, it was resolv'd upon, that he should be Depos'd without more ado ; in order to which, the Magistrates of *Lisbon* went to petition the *Infante*, That they might, the Day following, wait upon him to the Palace, and that he would then take the Government into his own Hands : and that, if this could not be done by fair means, they might use Violence. The *Infante* ordered them to be ready on the Morrow, to accompany him, if it should be thought convenient ; and it was agreed, that the Council of State should, before they proceeded any further, endeavour to prevail with the King, to resign up the Crown.

Early the next Morning, the Marquess of *Cascaes* got to the Palace before the other Counsellors, and coming into the King's Anti-Chamber, told those that waited, That he had a Mind to speak with the King. They answering, That he was yet a Bed. He knock'd at the Door with so much Noise, that he wakened him, and coming to his Bed-side, told his Majesty, *That this was not a time for him to sleep ; that if he did not awake, and shake off the Lethargy in which he had lived, he must in a few Hours be deprived of the Kingdom, which he had already ruin'd ; and since he was unfit to Govern, and useless in Marriage, he advised him to do that freely, and in a way consistent with his Honour, which otherwise he must be forc'd to do with Disgrace ; that is, to send for the Infante, his Brother, and deliver up the Government to him ; for by that means he might secure his Crown, and preserve his Kingdom.*



The Council came afterwards in a Body, and endeavoured to perswade the King to resign; but neither Menaces, nor Arguments, could bring him to comply. He continuing resolute, the Duke of *Cadaval* was sent to give the *Infante* an Account how things stood; and nothing was further done till towards the Evening, which, as it is pretended, was to give the King time to change his mind; but, as 'tis more likely, to perswade the *Infante* to finish what they had begun; He, at last, Night drawing on, accompanied by the Magistrates of *Lisbon*, the Nobility of the Party, and a great Concourse of the People, went to the Palace, where he was received by the Council of State; and at the Head of this Company, went and lock'd up the King in his Chamber, securing all the Passages through which he might escape. A Form of Resignation was then drawn up, read and approved of by the Council, which before they broke up, was sent to the King for him to Sign, and accordingly it was brought back sign'd by him; but it is not known by what Means he was prevailed upon to do it: The Prince takes up his Lodgings that Night in the Palace; he had no sooner thrown himself upon the Bed, it being very late, but a Message came to him from *Alfonso*, to desire that *John the Dog-Keeper* might be sent to keep him Company; the Message drew Tears from the Prince's Eyes, 'tis pretended, that he wept in commiseration of his Brothers weakness, and little sense of his Condition; tho' 'tis not improbable, but the Dethroned King took this way to make his Brother sensible of the ill Usage he had met with, perhaps from  
their

their hands, that had been sent to make him Sign the Resignation, which, but the same Morning, as hath been shown, the most Brutal Menaces could not extort from him.

The King being thus Deposed, the Prince Signs the Writs that had been prepared for Summoning the *Cortes*, before they assembled, it was debated, Whether it might be convenient for him to take the Title of King, but it pass'd in the *Negative* in a Committee of Judges, and other Ministers, to whom the Matter was referred, and it was carried, that he should content himself with the Title he then used, *viz.* that of *Curator of the King's Person, and Governor of the Kingdom*; The same Question was afterwards long debated in the *Cortes*, which met on the 27th of *January*, 1668, but in the end it was concluded, That he should have the Kingly Power, with the Title of *Prince Regent*.

In the mean time, the Queen having commenc'd her Process against *Alfonso* the day before he was deposed, upon his Confinement was at liberty to prosecute the same with the utmost vigour. There being no Bishops at this time in *Portugal*, the Cause, as hath been said, was brought before the Chapter of *Lisbon*: I shall, for many reasons, forbear giving a particular account of the Proceedings, tho' there be no want of Materials; but in short, *Alfonso* after a few Days Confinement, was, as 'tis pretended, brought to sign an Acknowledgment of what the Queen had declared, concerning the Nullity of their Marriage, contrary to what he had asserted to the *Infante*, when he signify'd her Declaration to him the Day after her Retreat, while he was yet at liberty.



It fell out happily for the Queen, as she thought at least, that her Uncle the Duke of *Vendome*, lately made a Cardinal-Deacon, was at this very time commissioned by the Pope, to represent the Person of his Holiness, as Godfather to the *Dauphin*, then seven Years old, at that Formality of a Christning, which is used for the Children of *France* : For this end the Cardinal-Duke had the Title and Patent given him of *Legat a Latere*. To him, as invested with the Plenitude of the Pope's Power, Monsieur *Verjus*, ( who was sent as hath been said, into *France*, upon the Queen's first leaving her Husband ) applied himself for a Dispensation, that the Queen might marry with the *Infante*. The Cardinal was, no doubt, willing enough to oblige his Niece, and to do for her whatever was in his Power ; but then he question'd much, whether it was in his Power to helper out in this Case ; as well he might : For who cou'd think, that a Proxy to be Godfather to a Child in *France*, should enable him to make it lawful for a Woman in *Portugal* to marry with her living Husband's Brother ? But Monsieur *Verjus* having satisfied the *French* King about what the Queen of *Portugal* had been doing, the Dispensation was obtain'd without much difficulty ; for he and Monsieur *de Lionne* reading the Cardinal's Bull of Legate, found out that it contain'd some Clauses, that did, as it were, point to the very Case in Hand, and to give the Cardinal as ample Powers as they could wish ; and so the Dispensation was granted without more a-do : And in truth, they in *France* were a little too hasty in this Business, for the Dispensation was obtain'd there, before they were ready for it in *Portugal*, it bears Date the 17 Calends of *April*,

*pril, i. e.* the 16th Day of *March*, and in it 'tis supposed and affirmed, that the former Marriage had been declared null by Course of Law. But the Chapter of *Lisbon* were not so very hasty, for they did not pronounce Sentence 'till the 24th of *March*, tho' considering how long Causes of Divorce between Royal Persons used to depend, which we in *England* have good Cause to remember, none will accuse them of dilatory Proceedings. They at last by their Delegates appointed to examine and determine the Matter, pronounc'd the former Marriage to be null, by reason of *Alfonso's* incurable Inability to consummate it, occasion'd by his Sickneſs during the time of his Childhood; of which Inability, as 'tis affirm'd in the Sentence, there was more than sufficient Proof, and at least a Moral Certainty; so that as they said, there was no need of Inspection of Trial for 3 Years, or any other limited time.

The Queen was now talking of nothing but returning into *France* by the Fleet that lay in the River, to carry off the *French* Troops that had been in the *Portuguese* Service; with this Design she made the three Estates of the Kingdom acquainted, desiring, that the Portion which she had brought with her, might be return'd her. The doleful News of her intended Departure, (saith the Writer, employ'd to give the World an account of these Transactions) was with great Grief heard by the States, and they entring into politick Considerations in the midst of their Affliction, find that this Princess, on account of all the Conveniencies of State, all the Endowments of Mind, and all the Perfections of Nature, was the most ready, most convenient, most worthy, and most lovely Spouse that a Prince could wish



for ; went all in a Body to the Nunnery, (saith another Writer of the same Stamp) to supplicate her Majesty with Tears in their Eyes, *That she would not abandon them, but stay and marry with the Prince, because they were neither able nor willing to return her Portion.* But the Queen would give them no positive Answer ; then they went in a Body to the Prince, *begging of him to save the Kingdom, by marrying the Queen ; protesting, they would never suffer him to marry any Body else,* (for there was a Match about the same time propos'd between him and the Princess of *Austria*, with great Advantages to the State) ; the Prince told them, *That he for his part was willing, provided they could but gain the Queen's Consent.* Then they return'd again in a Body to the Queen, and with repeated Entreaties *beseech'd her to Consent* : Her Majesty at last preferring the Welfare of the Kingdom (saith my Author) to her own Satisfaction, put off her Return to her own Country, and by a heavenly Inspiration gave Consent, that they should treat of the Marriage. The Match was soon made up ; for the Sentence of Divorce pass'd but on *Saturday* the Eve of *Palm-Sunday*, and on *Wednesday* in the Passion-Week, the Duke of *Cadaval*, her Proxy, was married in a private Oratory of the Palace to the Marquess of *Marraiva*, who represented the Prince. On *Easter-Monday*, the Prince, with a numerous Attendance fetched the Bride from the Nunnery, and carried her to *Alcantara*, where the Marriage was consummated : Poor *Alfonso* sending his Complements upon it, to wish Joy, as 'tis said, to the new-married Couple. They will have it likewise, that he acquiesced all along to the Proceedings in the Cause of his Divorce ; and that

that by the Advice of two *Dominicans*, and a *Jesuit*, he confess'd the Inability objected to him by the Queen, and at last submitted to the Sentence, declaring, that he would not appeal: But he was a Prisoner all the while. This dethroned Prince, after he had been confined some time in the Palace, was sent to the *Terceira* Island, one of the *Azores*; but having been kept there for some Years, he was for greater Security brought back to *Portugal*, and shut up in the Castle of *Cintra*, formerly a Royal Palace, where he ended his Days the 12th of *December* 1683.

After Consummation of this Marriage between the *Infante* and the Queen, the Pope was applied to to dispense with it; which he did by a *Breve*, dated the 10th of *December*, 1668, directed to the chief Inquisitor, and others, impowring them in case they found the Allegations of the Petitioners true, to annul the former Marriage, and confirm the Second; which was done accordingly the 18th of *Feb.* following.

This Bull hath some very extraordinary Clauses in it, inserted, I suppose, *Ex abundanti cautela*; which yet it will not be amiss to mention here, if for no other Reason, than to see how far the Plenitude of the Pope's Power reaches in such Cases. By it the Commissioners are impowred and commanded, *to cancel, dissolve, and annul Alphonso's Marriage, even without his Consent*; or in case the said Marriage *did appear, or should be found to have been valid*; and commands them to dispense with the Second Marriage, notwithstanding the Impediment, *Publicæ honestatis*, or any other Impediment of what nature soever, that may arise or appear; decreeing, That altho' the said King *Alfonso*, or any other Persons concern'd,



cern'd, have neither given their consent, appear'd, been cited, or heard; and altho' the Causes for which these Letters were granted, be neither sufficiently proved nor justified; that all this, notwithstanding the said Letters, and the Contents of the same, shall never be call'd in question, retracted, or violated for any lawful Cause, or any defect, how great or substantial soever; that no Person shall obtain Relief against them, upon any Plea of Right, Fact, or Favour; and in case Relief be obtain'd, it shall be of no benefit, tho' granted de motu proprio, with full Power and Apostolical Authority; but that they shall be for ever valid, in all respects, without limitation to the said Prince, &c. So that the Pope had a great deal of reason to tell the Prince, as he did afterwards in his Letter, That in this Cause he had certainly shewn him all the Favour that the sacred Canons would permit,

Of this Marriage was born within the first Year, the late *Infanta*, of whom I shall speak anon, but never any other Child, tho' the Queen liv'd with the Prince for above 15 Years. She departed this Life the 17th Day of *Decem*, 1683, after having languish'd in great Misery, for the space of six Months together, under the Distemper that occasion'd her Death.

After having mention'd so many Particulars, which seem to bear hard upon the Memory of this Princess, common Equity requires, that I should enlarge a little upon what is said in her Commendation: She was much celebrated for her great Understanding and Insight into Affairs, of which I think there can be no better Proof than this; the Prince her Husband (for he had not the Title of King 'till a little before she died) had so high an Opinion of her Judgment, as to  
consult

consult her upon all occasions of moment, and never came to a Resolution in any Business of Importance, before he had first taken her Advice; which may perhaps be one Reason, why he regretted her loss so much, as that he remain'd inconsolable for some time; and, as it's said, could not be perswaded to think of a Second Marriage, 'till Pope *Innocent XI.* by his Paternal Admonitions, in a manner, oblig'd him to it: They are not wanting, who make large Encomiums upon her other Vertues; I have two Sermons now before me, preach'd in her Commendation, by two of the most famous for Eloquence in *Portugal*, the one a little after her Second Marriage, and the other upon her Death; and I have consulted both these, in order to give her Character to the best advantage. The former speaks in general Terms of many wonderful Things that might be said in her Praise; but when he comes to Particulars, he falls a trifling: He highly magnifies her Noble Birth, chiefly because she was descended from a Bastard-Son of *Henry IV.* and reckons up the Titles that were related to the Family, and among others, the Principalities of *Anet*, and *Martignes*, the Duchies of *Pontievre*, and *Tampis*, the Marquisats of *San-sorlem*, and *Safors*. He tells her Majesty, (for he preached before her), That she was a very great Beauty; and he hoped, would be as handsome when she came to be 90 Years old, as she was at 20. He thinks it was discreetly done of her Parents, to Christen her with three Names, since one was not enough to express her Merit: For Astrologers call the finest Star in the Firmament *Venus*, *Lucifer*, and *Vesper*. Speaking of her forsaking her Husband, which he calls leaving



ving a Crown, to keep her Conscience unblemished ; he profanely compares it to *Moses's refusing to be call'd the Son of Pharaoh's Daughter, chusing rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season.* And hence he inters, That this Princess ought to be excepted from that general Maxim of *Tacitus*, which represents the Female Sex, as *ambitious and greedy of Power.*

The other is no less copious in her Praises, but speaks a little more to the purpose, he highly extols her great Prudence, speaks much in commendation of her Magnanimity and Patience, in bearing the Disgrace when the Match was broken off between the *Infanta*, her Daughter, and the Duke of *Savoy*, which she had set her Heart very much upon ; and for her other Vertues, he would have her pass for no less than a Saint ; but he intimates, that her Piety was best known to her Confessor, and compares it to the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, which was visible only to the High-Priest ; and, indeed, I do not find, that it was much known to the People, it being very little talk'd of amongst them : Certainly, if it was so very great as this Orator represents it, her Majesty's Confessor had a great deal of reason when he us'd to tell those he convers'd with, *That the Portugueses did not know how good a Queen God had sent them.*

*Of the late Q U E E N.*

**M***Aria Sophia Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Philip William* late Duke of *Nicubourg*, and Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine* by *Elizabeth Amelia*, Daughter of *George* Lantgrave of *Hesse d' Armstadt*, was born the 6th of *August* 1666, and Married to *Dom Pedro* the II. King of *Portugal*, the 11th of *August* 1687, the day of her Arrival at *Lisbon*, to which place she was conducted by a Squadron of *English* Men of War, under the Command of the late Duke of *Grafton*.

This Princess was of a middle Stature, exceeding Fair, and a graceful Person. I do not know whether they that are Judges in these Matters, will allow her to have been a Perfect Beauty; but no doubt, all Strangers will agree, that she appeared with great advantage among her Ladies, one cause of this, perhaps may be, her neglect of those Arts which they have recourse to to set themselves off, for the *Portuguese* Women of all Ranks, do so discolour their Faces with Red Paint, that it renders them a very disagreeable Spectacle in the Eyes of Strangers.

It was observed, That her Majesty did seldom or never concern her self with the Affairs of State, contrary to the Practice of the former Queen. It is said, that her Confessor, Father *Leopold Fues*, a *Jesuit*, who came along with her from *Germany*, advis'd her not to meddle with the Government. They tell indeed, of one Design



sign of hers, which I may speak of in another place, which she was put upon by the same *Jesuit*, her Confessor, it being a Matter, wherein, as 'tis said, the whole *Society* have concern'd themselves for some time, and that was to bring the *Conde de Castelmelhor* into the Ministry again; but if her Majesty ever had any such Design, it is certain that nothing came of it, for the *Conde* keeps from Court still, and the Duke of *Cadaval* is since more firmly establish'd there than before.

But the Principal Parts of her Majesties Character, are her great Piety, and singular Devotion, according to the Religion in which she had been educated; she was a constant Hearer of the Fathers of the *Oratory*, an Order of Men, who some Years ago were famous for Preaching of true Christian Morality, whereby they became, and were it not for some very mean Compliances their prevailing Adversaries have extorted from them, they had continued still the Glory of the *Roman Church*; nor are they yet so far degenerated, but People still take notice, that their Sermons are the least stuff with those Fooleries wherewith Preachers of other Orders affect to raise Mirth in the Audience. It is, I suppose, for this cause, that notwithstanding the large Share the *Jesuits* have in her Majesties Favour, she honour'd them so often with her Presence; and that the Street where their Church stands, was every Sunday in *Lent*, crowded with Coaches, for her Majesties Example seems to have had a mighty Influence over the whole Court, especially among those of her own Sex. It is a usual thing to see Ladys of Quality with their Prayer-Books open in their hands, as they  
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are carried along the Streets in their Litters, and I have observed some of the younger sort as they were going to a Wedding of one of their Companions, very hard at their Devotion in the midst all their Gayety.

I need not, I suppose, tell that her Majesty is zealously addicted to what is now so commonly called the *Catholick Religion*; it is enough to make the Reader sensible of that, to say, she is of the House of *Nicubourg*, The Princes of that Family, by the very extraordinary Methods they take to promote their Religion, have made their Zeal sufficiently remarkable to the World. But as well instructed in *Catholicism* as she was in *Germany*, her Majesty seemed to be much improved since her coming into *Portugal*, especially in those smaller Devotions, as the *French* call them, of which good *Catholicks* are so very shy in Countries where Hereticks are in sight, and so mightily addicted to, where they are at their own Liberty. But it would be very difficult for one that is of another Religion, to give an account of these Matters, without being suspected of Misrepresentation, or in the present case of disregard to Majesty. I shall therefore give but one Instance of the Queens Devotion; and concerning that I shall say nothing but what I have from the *Jesuits*, who were her Majesties Directors, and are at this day reckon'd among the most refin'd Courtiers in *Europe*, and therefore may be supposed to understand best what is most fit for the World to know.

From these good Fathers then, I learn, that above all the Saints in the *Roman Calendar*, the Queen had a singular and most devout Affection  
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for the famous *St. Francis Xavier*, I need not, I suppose, at this time, tell who this Saint is, since his Life has been written by the elegant Pen of *Pere Bouhours*, and translated into *English* by our famous *Laureat*, or 'tis enough to let the ordinary Reader know that he was one of the first Set of *Jesuits* that appear'd in the World; and that he is frequently address'd to by such as want Heirs to their Familys, and is believed by his Devotes frequently to procure Relief in such cases.

The first occasion taken notice of by my Authors, of the great Friendship between this Saint and her Majesty, was this; Soon after her Marriage, the Viceroy that came from *Goa*, brought along with him a certain Cap, that had formerly belong'd to *Xavier*, *The greatest Treasure* (saith the Famous Jesuit *Vieira*) *that ever came from the Indies, since the Arm of the same Saint, that's now at Rome, was brought from thence*: This Cap her Majesty, possibly prevail'd upon to comply with the Bigotry of those about her, put upon her Head on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *November* 1687, which in the *Roman Calendar* is the day of the *Presentation of the Virgin*, and she happening to be with Child soon afterwards, they would needs have it that she received great Benefit by the Cap; but the Jesuits have made strange work of the Matter, *On which day* (saith the Jesuit *Duarte*) *Her Majesty amidst the sweetest transports of her Heart, received for the first time the Sacred Cap upon her Royal Head, when suddenly* (saith *Vieira* another Jesuit) *the Tears flowed from her eyes in a copious manner, her Countenance being all of a flame, and changed to that degree, that her Confessor* (a third Jesuit) *being present, was astoni-*  
shed

shed at the sight ; and he afterwards asking the cause of this alteration ; the Queen, (as he pretended) reveal'd to him, how that she was certified at the very Instant, that the Saint would obtain a Son for her, of which she hoped, through the Saint's Intercession, she should never make the least doubt. The Confessor's Words (saith *Vieira*) are, *Ut nihil amplius hæsitaret de impetrando quod petebat.*

The *Jesuits*, after this, brought the Saint's Image from their Church at *St. Roque*, upon a Visit to the Queen at the Palace ; and tell the World, That her Majesty had learn'd so much *Portuguese*, as to say, *Meu santo daime hum Filho se Deos quizer.* My Saint, give me a Son, if God pleases. Her Request was granted, (saith *Vieira*) ; and he very profanely applies these words, *Visitavit Dominus Annam & concepit*, to this Visit that the Image made to her Majesty. After this, she was made to believe, as the *Jesuit's* pretend at least, that the Child she had conceived would infallibly prove a Son. *Vieira* proves, that it must necessarily be a Son by this Instance : A certain *Indian*, upon the Coasts of *Comorin*, prayed to *St. Francis Xavier*, That he would please to bestow upon him a Son : And not many Days after, the Wife came to understand, that the Saint had heard her Husband's Prayers ; however, it was yet doubtful, what the Saint was sending her ; but when the time of her Reckoning was up, behold she was brought to Bed of a Girl. The Father seeing it was a Girl, in a rage takes the little Creature, and away he goes with it to the Saint's Altar, and there laying it before him, Here, says he, my Saint, here's what you gave me ; but it is not what I asked for : Had it



*been a Boy, I intended it should have been mine ; but since it is a Girl, e'en take it for your self.* The Great Miracle-worker (saith *Vieira*) was now much in the same Case, with a poor Trades-man, that hath his Work turn'd upon his Hands : And what, saith he, should the Saint do in the Case ? As for the *Indian*, he was resolv'd never to own the Girl, but to carry her away presently to the Hospital : But he going to take her off the Altar, he saw, to his Astonishment, that she was become a Boy, a Boy ! Upon this the People came thronging about the Altar, to be Witnesses to the Miracle, and the Church was presently fill'd with a confus'd Noise of Thanks and Praise to the Saint, and *Much Joy* to the *Indian* ; so that, saith the *Padre*, if the *Indian* was Father of the Girl, the Saint was Father of the Boy. From this Story he infers, (how well I shall not examine) that the Queen, since she had conceiv'd through the Intercession of St. *Xavier*, must needs bring forth a Son. But to secure her Hopes, and return the Saint's Civility, she entred, they say, into a new Course of Devotion, which was to visit the Saint at the *Jesuits Church*, ten *Fri-days* in the Year. The Confessor kept a kind of Journal of the Accidents befalling the Queen, during her Big-belly ; and pretends, that in all Dangers she had so much Confidence in her Saint, who had given her this Son, that she was sure of a safe Delivery ; as in effect, she was delivered much about the time of their Reckoning of a Prince, who dy'd about seventeen Days after his Birth. But they pretend, that this was not the only Child that her Majesty was indebted to St. *Xavier* for ; they will have it, that all her Children have *Francis*, or *Xavier*, among their Names

Names, because she thought her self oblig'd for them all to the Saint ; and that among other Marks of her Gratitude, she wore the Saint's Colours for some time ; and in Token of her Affection, sent him a new Suit of Cloaths for his Body at *Goa* ; of which they believe, (if we'll believe them) the Saint was not a little Proud, but made his Braggs in the Court of Heaven of her Majesty's Favours.

They that have been in Countries where pure Popery is still practis'd ; that is, such as hath not been blended with Heretical Doctrines, as 'tis in *France* and *Germany*, would not perhaps think strange at all this, or any thing of the like sort, had my Authors to deal only with the People : For where-ever genuine Popery is retain'd, it is a common thing for the Priests to amuse the gaping Herd with such Stuff, as my Authors tell of their Saint ; but it may deserve one's Wonder, to see Men so securely impudent, as to abuse their Sovereigns at this rate ; as if they thought it not enough to have them at their Devotion, but out of meer Wantonness they must needs let the World see, how they can divert themselves at the Expence of Crown'd Heads : and certainly, if there be any thing of Truth in their Reports, it must move any Man's Indignation, to see what use they make of the pious Inclinations of a well-dispos'd, but misguided Princess. But by this time, I fear, the Reader may suspect me of misrepresenting them as much, as, 'tis to be hoped, they have their Queen ; wherefore to vindicate my Credit, I shall here translate some Parts of an Address made to the Queen by *Padre Balthesar Duarte*, Procurator-General at the Court of *Lisbon*, for the *Jesuits* of *Brazil*,



when he presented her Majesty with the Life of *Xavier*, compos'd at her Request, by the famous Jesuit, *Antonio Vieira*, one of the greatest Men, by the Confession of all, that ever the Society produc'd in *Portugal*. Such of the foregoing Particulars as are not mentioned in this Address, were taken from the Writings of *Vieira* himself.

**M**AY it please your Majesty then to accept of your *Xavier*, always wholly Yours, because your Majesty is always wholly His ; by such a new and admirable Transmigration of *Xavier's* Soul into your Majesty, and your Majesty's Soul into *Xavier*, that your very Names are confounded ; insomuch, that at the Name of *Xavier*, People are in doubt, who is meant, whether it be the Apostle of the East, or the Queen of Portugal ; this is certain, that the same Species do mutually excite the Memory of both Names with such a never-failing Connexion, that none can think of your Majesty, but must remember *Xavier* : Hence it was, that some Months ago, a Publick Notary being to write the most August Name of your Majesty, by a happy and pleasing Mistake, instead of *Isabel*, put *Xavier*. The Credit of that Publick Instrument, would certainly be called in question in After-Ages, were not all the World acquainted of your Majesty's amorous Transmigration into *Xavier*, which at all times will put it out of doubt, that *Maria Sophia Isabel*, and *Maria Sophia Xavier*, stand for one and the same Person : And so your Majesty was pleas'd to have the Name settled upon you by a Publick Deed, which you were before possess'd of, and lawfully entitled to by Right of Prescription, and that not without Consent of its former Owner.

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But your Majesty contents not your self with the Glory of so illustrious a Name, you equal it by the Resemblance and Condignity of your Actions; witness the Image of Xavier, which among the rest (all Sacred ones) like the Sun among the Planets, gilds and enamels your Bracelets; for not satisfied to have him engraven in your Heart, in imitation of a Spouse, you have his Impression in your Arm, where it is as a Signature, or Love-mark, or as an indelible Character, whence is deriv'd a Cœlestial and Superiour Force into all your Majesty's Actions.

What shall I say to the great variety and multiplicity of honours, that your Majesty bestows on Xavier? Your Love never shews it self so ingenious, as in contriving for him some new Methods of Veneration. The vast distance of Sea and Land, will not permit that you present your self as a Royal Pilgrim at his Sepulcher, tho' your Heart is so much set upon it, that you would do it, if 'twere possible, were it with the Peril of your Life. But your Royal Bounty has reach'd where your Person cannot come, your Majesty having sent your Xavier, as a Token of your Love, a most costly Suit of Sacerdotal Vestments; wherewith, he being still alive after Death, may cloath himself in such a glorious manner, as becomes one that triumphs over Mortality; Sacerdotal Vestments, I say, as to one, that is free from Corruption, white, as to a Confessor, embroidered with Red, as to a Martyr of Love; and that there should not want Symbols of your Fervour, and pure Affection, shining with the Fire of Gold, and Snow of Pearls; I believe, Xavier, on that Day when dress'd up in all his Finery, shew'd himself to the whole Court of Heaven, telling every Saint with a holy Vanity: *His me vestibus Cliens mea Lusitaniæ Regina contextit.* Nor were you content to cloath your Saint in divers Colours, but



you wore your self the Colours of your Saint : For we know that you made a Vow, That for the space of a Year you would wear no Silks of any other Colour, but that wherewith the Sun of the East, (Xavier) while he suffer'd the Eclipse of a mortal Body, mortified and conceal'd the Rays of his Vertue, to accommodate himself to the Miseries of this Life ; only you would admit a mixture of White, as a Signal of the Virginal Soul of Xavier, and your Majesty.

Let Lisbon reckon up, if it can, the holy Pilgrimages, by which your Majesty, in the Course, and Return of the Year, humbly and devoutly venerates the Temples and Altars of your Saint ; to adorn whose Image you consecrate all your Jewels, offering the best Eastern Spoils, to the Apostle of the East, the Jewels themselves having the advantage to be plac'd and dispos'd by the Hands of your Royal Majesty : I pass by the ten Fridays which your Majesty's Devotion dedicates every Year to Xavier. And what shall I say of that most tender and most amorous Affection which all discover in your Majesty, every time you speak of Xavier ? All know, that have the Sovereign Favour to be admitted to your more intimate Conversation, how often, and with what sweetness and dexterity you have look'd in the Discourse of your Xavier ; at the naming Him, not only your Tongue by your Speech, but your Face by the Colour in your Cheeks, your Eyes by their Sparkling, your Breast by its Commotion, your Heart by its Leaping, speak with so much warmth, that they seem to lay your Majesty open to the Eyes, as well as to the Ears of them that hear ; whom, by an admirable Simpathy, and reciprocal Communication of Affections, you often melt into copious Tears. At one of those Conferences, wherein two Religious bore a part, Xavier being of course the Subject, your Majesty just having done Reading the prodigious Cure  
that

that a few Years ago was wrought in a moment, by the Hand of this Wonder-worker of the East, upon Anna Maria Zambrina, a Roman Matron, your Majesty full of interiour Delight and Consolation, being desirous to communicate the Matter, began the Story again, and read it over from beginning to end, tho' it took up a full Hour; and that not only without being cloy'd and tired, but without so much as pausing, unless it was when your Majesty from time to time was interrupted by your amorous Sighs; and by these you enkindled the like Flame in your Hearers, insomuch, that they could scarce refrain from Weeping. I believe that this was the first time, that the Humble Xavier was pleas'd with his own Praises; and that he was pleas'd with them now, because they came from the Mouth of your Majesty.

Your Majesty, like a most pious Mother, bath by the imposition of so beloved a Name, instilled the same Love into each of your Sons, our most Serene Princes, who both of them imitate you so happily therein, that scarce any Voice came from them before they could Lisp out their Mothers Saint, meaning Xavier, and even then they could distinguish his Image from among the rest, accustoming themselves to the Veneration of it by a thousand innocent Kisses. I pass by the Concern of the rest of your House and Family, who find that their Emulation and Imitation of this your Royal Piety, is the only way to please their Mistress, and gain her Favour; and indeed, it is commonly reported about the Court and City, that in order to succeed in any Business with Your Majesty, there is no Intercessor like Xavier.

A love so great could not well be contained in one City: It has already pass'd the Tagus, your Majesty having chosen Beja for the Theatre of your Liberality, where mov'd partly by your Zeal, partly by



-the pious desires of the Inhabitants, you have rais'd a magnificent House to the Honour of your Saint, built and endow'd at your own Charges. But why should I say, that one City is too narrow for your Love to Xavier, when it cannot be confin'd within the limits of a whole Kingdom? What Court is there among the greatest of Christendom, wherein your Majesty (I speak your own Words) hath not introduc'd the sweet and powerful Patronage of this lovely Saint? Witness Vienna in Austria, Madrid in Spain, Warsaw in Poland, Parma in Italy; and lastly, all Germany, a Country that's proud that it can boast of your Majesty's Cradle, and is enrich'd with the numerous Offspring of your most Serene House; in all which places your Majesty hath enkindled the Love of Xavier, into such a Flame, that few Letters come from thence but are full of his Encomiums, written by such as gratefully recount the Favours received from his beneficent Hand.

Your Majesty is the first, by your own Confession, that is able and bound after repeated Tryals, to bear witness that Xavier's Love for your Majesty is no less than your Majesties Love for Xavier; and if Benefits are a sure proof of love, Xavier hath conferred so many upon You, that to reckon them all, would take up a Volume; but your Majesty, no less grateful than devout, will not permit me to pass them all over in silence, especially since it is for the glory of Xavier to have it known, that he shews himself to be the Benefactor of them that serve him, and recompences the Regards they have for him with reciprocal Kindnesses. It is then, through the kindness of Xavier that your Majesty has most happily brought forth Three Sons one after another: This is acknowledg'd, not by me only, and the whole Kingdom, but by your Majesty likewise. For you remember mighty well, what your  
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*Prophetick Mind foresaw, when full of Faith, amidst the sweetest Joys of your heart, you first receiv'd upon your Royal Head the Sacred Cap of Xavier, brought a little before from Goa; for according to the exactest Reckoning, just Nine Months after your Majesty brought to light the first and wish'd for Heir of the Crown, the Infallibility of the Success confirming the truth of the Prediction. Its true, Heav'n did of right take to it self the First Fruit of your Majesties Royal Blood, but it was in order to recompence that tender Plant, cut off in the Flower, with new Fruits.*

*So it was; there succeeded a Second Son given by Xavier, there followed a Third, whom you owe likewise to Xavier, upon several accounts; A Saying of your Majesty makes us believe that your Saint had made you a Promise of him, and had given you his Word upon it in Private; for a great while before, you had affirmed without the least sign of Doubt, that e'er the Ten Weeks were ended, the Fridays whereof you had consecrated to Xavier, you should conceive a Son the Third time, the Event prov'd the Truth of this Prediction likewise.*

*But the Reader, I suppose, may by this time, be as weary as my self, of this High-flown Courtier, I shall therefore pass over a great many of his Compliments, and come to his Conclusion.*

*To conclude, for it is now time, I shall end where I began. May your Majesty receive your Xavier, wholly yours, because as your Majesty has entirely devoted your self to the service of Xavier, so he makes it his whole business to become serviceable to your Majesty. There is an amorous Combat between Xavier and your Majesty. Your Majesty strives to overcome him by your Obsequiousness, and he fights with your Majesty by his Kindnesses; But the Event is always to the advantage both of the one and the other Party; the conquering*



quering as well as the conquered; for Love is always triumphant on both sides. That Laureat Combatant doth foment the War in such sort, and alternate the Battels between Xavier and your Majesty, that he fastens your Majesty to Xavier, and Xavier to your Majesty, like fortunate Prisoners by indissoluble Bonds in the Centre of Divine Love. I think I have translated this Period right, and so it is the Reader's business to make sense of it.

This *Panegyrick* ends with a small Request, as the Orator calls it, *That her Majesty would please to continue her Favours to the Jesuits of the Province of Brazil, and take them into her Maternal Care and Protection, for the obtaining of which Request he thinks no solicitation can prove so effectual as that of the same Xavier.*

The World hath been so much prejudic'd in Favour of the Jesuits, on account of the great Parts and Learning for which some Leading Men among them have always been eminent since the Foundation of the Society, that People will hardly be perswaded, that all these Fooleries can come Naturally and Innocently from them. Yet it may be said in their Favour on the other side, that they are not observ'd to smile in one another's Faces when they meet in the Streets; were all this design'd for meer Banter, one wou'd think it were impossible for them to hold their Countenances: But were we to judge of them by their Looks, which are the most demure that I ever saw, they must be thought to be in Earnest. But whatever it be that puts them upon treating their Queen in so extravagant a manner, whether it be their Folly or their Knavery

very, or perhaps a Mixture of both ; for these two go frequently in Conjunction ; this is certain, that their Libels have fail'd of the effect which they might have had in regard to any other Person ; for the great Esteem which this Princess had gain'd by her many signal Vertues, is so deeply rooted in Peoples Minds, that it is not in the power of any Jesuit to lessen it. This appear'd by the great Consternation her Subjects were in upon her Sickness, and the general Lamentation that was every where heard among them at her Death. And these Testimonies of the Great Value that all had for her, were no where so remarkable as in the Palace where her Majesty was best known. Letters come lately from *Lisbon* say, That one of her Ladies died in two or three days after her for meer Grief ; That the Queen Dowager of *England* was inconsolable ; That the King never went to Bed during the time of her Sickness, but lay on a Piece of Cork in the same Chamber ; That his Majesty, while the Corps was carried away, expressed his Passion in such a manner, as is not to be described, it being so violent, that neither the *Nuncio*, nor any other Person could pacifie him. It is said likewise, That the Cardinal Archbishop did many Penances in her Majesties behalf, but none surely so severe as those perform'd by the King himself: The Publick hath had an account already, how that his Majesty went one Night Bare-foot quite up to *Nossa Senhora da Graça*, which stands upon a steep Hill at the furthest end of the Town ; but these Letters add, That he went in the same manner no less than Nine times to the Cathedral Church, that is at a considerable Distance from the Palace,



lace, and some part of the way very Rugged ; and that all the little Princes were carried in a Coach, without their Shoes and Stockins to St. *Roques* the Jesuits Church where *Xavier* stands, and when they came near the Church, went a little way upon their bare Feet ; and having said their Prayers for their Mother, return'd upon their bare Feet to the Coach again.

Some of these Passages may perhaps, seem a little odd to such as are unacquainted with the *Portuguese* Customs ; but then all must acknowledge that they set forth the Praises of the deceased Princess, in a manner, by much, more affecting and lively than the Jesuites could have done by all their forced strains of Eloquence, supposing they had set themselves in earnest to make her *Panegyrick* ; for this so great and universal a Concern for her, so variously express'd, as it was, demonstrates how well she had acquitted her self towards all People, according to the several relations she had to them ; it shews how good a Queen, a Friend and Mistress she was, and proves her to have been a most Endearing Wife, and a Tender Mother.

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*Of the Queen Dowager of England.*

HER Majesty being now, to the great Regret of our Nation, become a most considerable Part of the *Portuguese* Court, this Account wou'd appear but lame, and be more defective than it is, should I forbear to mention her : I have great Reason to believe, that my Country-men wou'd think the Omission unpardonable, finding them so very inquisitive as they are, concerning her ; the first Question they put to such as come from *Portugal*, and to which Satisfaction is most earnestly desired, being commonly concerning their Queen-Dowager. But her Majesty's Character is so well known to the World already, that I shall not attempt it here. To tell of her most exemplary Piety, wou'd be no News in any part of *Europe*, much less in *England* ; and it is needless to say, that it is now the most distinguishing part of her Character : For it was so, while she Reign'd in one of the first Courts of *Christendom* ; and none will suppose her Majesty to be alter'd in this respect now, in the time of her Retirement. It did then, as it does still, give forth so bright a Lustre, as to out-shine, by far, all the rest of her great Perfections ; which yet, as those who are competent Judges, and have the Honour to be near her Person, affirm, are such as would be highly admired in any other Person.

But



But tho' her Majesty be her self the same, her outward Circumstances are somewhat alter'd, since her leaving *England*; her Court is lessen'd almost to a private Family, those few Persons that waited on her from hence, being, for the most part, either dismiss'd with their Salaries continued to them, or excus'd their Attendance; there is now no Noise, nor Ostentation of Grandeur about her House, but all things are quiet and still, except it be on Days of Ceremony, when Persons of Quality Will be coming to express the great Veneration they have for her; then, indeed, her Court is as great, and full, as the Nobility of the Country can make it.

At all other times she convinces the World, that the Formalities of Pomp and State are not inseparable from Majesty; and that true Greatness, instead of being set off by such Helps, appears to the best Advantage without them. But the Queen had, doubtless, a Nobler End still, in getting Rid of those Incumbrances; there being great cause to believe, that it has been all along the chief Desire of her Heart, to be at Ease and Liberty, that nothing might divert her from enjoying her self, as she now does, at her Devotions.

Some speak of it as a considerable Alteration about her Majesty, that the *Jesuits* are become her Directors; whereas before, she conferr'd that Trust on those of the *Franciscan* Order: But her Majesty is not of a Character to be used by those Fathers, as others may have been. 'Tis said, indeed, that they have tasted of her Liberality in a most plentiful manner; but as great as their Profits are, the Credit they have got,

got, by being favour'd by so discerning a Princess, is certainly much greater, since she cannot be suppos'd to have any Worldly Designs to employ them in : For my part, I take this Honour to be the greatest that ever was conferr'd on the Society ; and that by this mention of it, I have more than made Amends for any thing I have said, or may say, to their Disadvantage.

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*Of*

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## Of the Late I N F A N T A.

**D**Ona *Isabel Luisa*, *Infanta* of *Portugal*, was born the Sixth of *January*, 1669 ; sworn Princess, or Heiress to the Crown, in 1680 ; died the Twenty-first of *October*, 1690. This Princess was accounted one of the most Beautiful and Accomplish'd Persons, of her Sex and Rank, in *Christendom* ; and that not only by the *Portugueses*, who admired her almost to Adoration, but by more impartial Strangers, such especially as bore a Publick Character, who had frequent Opportunities to satisfy themselves, that the favourable Esteem the World had for her, was not without ground : For which Reason, and for the Prospect there was of her succeeding to the Crown ('till after the King's Second Marriage) she was sought for in Marriage by most of the Princes, and among the rest, by some of the most considerable Monarchs in *Europe* ; as indeed there is none so great, but might have accounted it a very advantageous Match.

The first that pretended to this Princess, at least with any success, was *Victor Amedee*, the present Duke of *Savoy*, Cousin-German to the *Infanta Madame Royale* his Mother ; *Marie Jeane Baptist de Savoie*, Princess of *Nemours*, being Sister to the Queen of *Portugal* : His Pretensions succeeded so well, that in the Year 1680, a Marriage was treated, and soon agreed upon, and nothing seem'd wanting to the final Conclusion,  
but

but the coming of the Duke to *Lisbon*, according to Agreement.

It will not be amiss to give what Account I can of this Match, as how it came on, and was unexpectedly broke off, it being no inconsiderable Part of the History of this Age.

It may easily be supposed, that it was at first contrived between the two Mothers ; for howsoever it might have proved to others, it afforded a very advantageous Prospect to each of them.

*Madame Royale* had been left sole Regent of *Savoy*, during her Son's Minority, by her Husband *Charles Emanuel*, at his Death in 1675 : But the young Duke entring at this time upon his 15th Year, had a little before been declared Major ; and therefore, should he have taken upon himself the Government, her Authority was like to suffer no small diminution ; nor was there any so likely an Expedient to continue the Power in her Hands, as the Duke's being sent away into *Portugal* ; the Desire of Rule, together with the Ambition of becoming Mother of a King, might make this Princess give a listning Ear to her Sister's Proposals. The Queen of *Portugal*, for her part, as she had a great hand in the setting up of his present Majesty, so she had a great share with him in the Government ; but her Power was not like to continue so great, should a strange Prince be admitted into Court, especially in case any thing should befall the King ; but by this Marriage between her Nephew and her Daughter, she secured her Authority, and took the best Measures to establish it, both for the present, and against the time to come.



These may be supposed to have been sufficient Inducements on both sides, for the two Princesses to desire a Match between their Children ; and considering the great Power that each of them were possess'd of in their respective Dominions, one would think there was no need of the Intervention of any others to bring the same about : But some will needs bring the *French* in upon the Stage ; for in this latter Age, there must nothing of moment be done in any Court of *Christendom*, but what they have a hand in. The Match, indeed, was for the Interest of *France*, and that seems to be a great Argument why they should not be wholly unconcern'd in the Matter.

'Tis pretended, that it was concerted by the Cardinal *d'Estrees*, who passed the Mountains that Year, on pretence of accommodating Differences between the Courts of *Rome* and *France* ; but in reality, to negotiate the Affairs of his King with the *Italian* Princes, having a particular Command to call at *Turin*, in order, as 'tis said, to propose this Marriage, he being thought the fittest Person to serve his Master in this Affair, as he was a Relation to the Parties, and highly esteem'd by the Duchess of *Savoy*, and obliged for the Purple to the Queen of *Portugal* ; so that whatever came from him, might be look'd upon as design'd only for the Good of the Family. To make the Proposal more acceptable to the Duchess, 'tis said he was Commissioned, to assure her of the Protection of *France*, to maintain her in the Regency.

'Tis pretended, that the *French* had before laboured all they could, to get the *Infanta* for the Dauphin ; the Crown of *Portugal*, which they  
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expected with her, being considerable in it self, and might be a means to promote their further Designs ; for ever since their King's Marriage, they have all along had an Eye to the now so-much talk'd of, Succession of *Spain* ; but being frustrated of their first Design, by the prevailing Interests of other Princes, that were concern'd to obstruct them in it, thair next Business was to defeat the hopes which the *Spaniards* might entertain in favour of their King, or the Pretensions of any other Prince, in dependance on that Crown : To bring this about, they thought it the best way to set up one, that should either be dependant on themselves, or whom they might easily deal with as they pleased ; and none was found so fit for their purpose, as his Royal Highness of *Savoy*. It is said likewise, that there was a further Reason for their setting up the Duke, he having Pretensions next to the *German* Branch, to the Succession of *Spain*, both as being descended from *Donna Catharina*, Daughter to *Philip* the Second ; and also, by Virtue of *Philip* the Fourth's last Will. If the Duke were once settled in *Portugal*, they thought they might serve themselves of him, to hinder the Crown of *Spain* from falling to the *Austrians*, hoping to get him preferred before them, partly by their Intrigues at *Madrid*, and partly by Force of Arms ; and the Duke, on this Condition, might easily be brought to put *France* again in possession of *Navarre* ; and, perhaps, be outed of *Spain* it self, whenever King *Louis* should please to dispossess him ; or, at least, be obliged by some Treaty, to yield up *Savoy* and *Piedmont*.



But these Designs seem to have been somewhat remote ; there are others ascrib'd to the *French* on this occasion, that had a nearer regard to their present Interest.

It was thought, that the sending away of the Duke would cause such Discontent among his Subjects, that the Duchess-Regent must necessarily seek Protection from *France*, and consequently her Country lie exposed to their Discretion. The *French*, during the preceding War, had found it much to their Prejudice, that none of their Artifices could prevail with her to declare for their Party ; or in any point to recede from that exact Neutrality, which from her first coming to the Government she had firmly resolv'd to observe ; by this means the Duke's Dominions became a kind of Barrier to the State of *Milan*, which otherwise had lain continually exposed to their Insults ; and that which nettled them the more, was, the Princess-Regent was born their Subject, and as they had flattered themselves, was *French*, as well by Inclination as Birth ; but notwithstanding all this, by her constant adherence to the true Interests of the Duke her Son, and by the admirable Dexterity and Conduct of the Duke of *Giovinazzo*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, residing at *Turin*, they found all their Attempts to be vain, and their Measures broken. But the Difficulties they had met with, seem'd to animate them more in the Prosecution of their Design ; wherefore at the Conclusion of the Peace, they were resolv'd at any rate, to secure to themselves an Inroad into *Italy*, against the next War, to get, if it were possible, the possession of *Casal*, and bring *Savoy* into their dependency. How they succeeded in the former Attempt, it is not

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my Business to enquire; but it seems, they found at last the true Forible of the Parties they had to deal with; the Love of Money being that poor Prince, the Duke of *Mantua's* reigning Passion, as Desire of Rule was *Madame Royale's*. For after all other Attempts had proved ineffectual, the Continuance of her Regency seem'd an irresistible Temptation; tho' at the same time, there was little likelihood of her being able to maintain her self therein, without the Protection of *France*; and it is supposed, that both these were offer'd her, when Cardinal *d'Estrées* came to propose to her the Marriage.

But whosoever were the Contrivers of this Match, or whatsoever were the Motives it was made on, it was once in that great forwardness, that none doubted of its taking effect; great Preparations were made at *Lisbon* and *Turin*, against the time when it was to be celebrated, and all things were in readiness; the *Cortes* of *Portugal* were called, to acknowledge the *Infanta* Heiress of the Crown, and to dispense with the Laws of *Lamego* in her favour; these Laws are the Fundamental Constitutions of the Government, and have the same force in *Portugal*, as the pretended *Salique* Laws have in *France*; by one of them a Daughter of *Portugal* is deprived of all Right of succeeding to the Crown, in case she marries with a Foreigner. The Duke had sent his Equipage to *Lisbon*, to be ready for him against his Arrival; where a Squadron of Men of War were equipp'd out, on purpose to fetch his Royal Highness; the Ships were the most finely rigg'd, and adorn'd, of any perhaps that have appear'd in the Ocean for some Ages: The Admiral, on which his Royal Highness was to embark, besides the immense Treasures that were laid out on the



in-side, was, above Water, all over doubly guilt on the out-side, and from thence had the Name given her of the *Monte de Ouro*. I am afraid to tell how vast a Sum was said to have been expended in the bare Guilding; but I know, that after the Ship had lain rotting in the River for many Years, a certain Chymist had the Assurance to engage himself to the Court, to make a very considerable quantity of Gold of the very out-side Scrapings; and the Court was perswaded to employ him when the Ship was broken up; for she never made but that one Voyage. The *Portuguese* Nobility were, or seem'd at least to be, so over-joy'd at the Match, and impatient to be making their Court to their new Prince, that most of them would needs be of the Voyage. The Duke of *Cadaval*, at their Head, was declared Admiral of the Fleet, all of them striving who should be most profuse in enriching the several Ships they went upon; insomuch, that as I have heard, some have scarce recovered their Estates to this Day.

While these Preparations were making at *Lisbon*, and the Fleet ready to set Sail, things began to have another Face at *Turin*: For the Nobility of *Savoy*, and *Piedmont*, were not so well satisfied as those of *Portugal*; they saw, or thought at least they saw more clearly into the *French* Designs: For presently upon Declaration of the Marriage, there arose a vehement Presumption among them, that this sending away of the Duke out of the Country, accompany'd, as he was to be, by his principal Ministers, was meerly a Contrivance of *France*; partly, to impoverish them, by the vast Expences they should be at on this occasion; but chiefly to take their Advantage  
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from the Absence of the Prince and his Council, in order to get his Dominions into their Power. Upon this they began to Cabal among themselves, and give the Duchess to understand, how prejudicial they thought this Marriage, made without their Knowledge, might prove to their Prince, and the State; the Duke, as they pretended, being to be convey'd away on Design only, that they should be expos'd to the Mercy of the *French*. The Duchess was a Princess of that Penetration, that she foresaw well enough, that this would in some measure be the consequence of the Match; but then should it be broken off, her Reign was in all likelihood drawing towards an end; and this melancholy Consideration, made her give a listning Ear to the *French* Offers of Assistance; for they seem'd to be no less alarm'd than her Highness, at this Commotion of the Nobility; whereupon their Troops were set a marching towards the Frontiers; the Duchess in the mean time getting together what Forces she could, on pretence of preventing any Design they might have upon *Casal*; for the Duke of *Mantua* had by this time, strook up an under-hand Bargain, tho' it was some time after, that the *French* were put in possession.

But at *Lisbon* all things went smoothly on, where a Publick Procession was made about the City, by way of Thanksgiving, for the Conclusion of the Marriage, and to obtain a good Voyage of the Fleet: But an unlucky Accident fell out at this Procession, that put some of the wiser Heads a considering, for they did not well know what to think on't, In these Festival Solemnities, our *English* St. George makes a very considerable Figure, being a fat burly Image, dress'd



up, as I take it, in the Habit worn by the *English* at the time of the Saint's first coming into the Country. He was brought into Request here, as some think, by *John of Gaunt* ; others are of Opinion, that *Edmund de Langley*, then Earl of *Cambridge*, brought him in a little before ; but about their time it was, that the *Portuguese* began to call upon *St. George* in their Battles, instead of *St. Jago* ; and ever since he has been the Patron of the Kingdom, and hath had his place in the Processions accordingly ; wherein He, whilst other *Saints* are carried upon *Pageants*, rides on a Horse that is kept on purpose for him, a Boy for his Page following on another Horse to carry his Lance : As the Procession was entring the *Rocio*, the largest Square in the City, *St. George's* Horse chanc'd to stumble, and down fell the Saint in the Presence of all the People ; a Disaster, which as the Inquisitive into these Matters have since found, had never happened before that Day. Upon the Fall of the Saint, an observing Person made this Remark, and for it stands recorded by a very grave and learned Author : *This Procession is no Procession, but a Funeral Pomp rather ; the mistaken Portugueses, with Festivity and Dancings, going to bury the Male-Line of our Native Kings.* And when our Fleet (says my Author) so bedaub'd with Gold without, and loaden with Diamonds and Jewels within, was ready to Sail, the same Person declared, *That tho' it went so rich over the Bar of Lisbon, it would come home richer at its return : And being ask'd the Reason, he reply'd, Because it will never bring hither what it goes to fetch.* It has been since demonstrated likewise from certain Prophecies, which I may speak something of in their due place, that

that 'twas impossible this Marriage should ever take effect. But these were then the private Sentiments of contemplative Persons, who were not much heeded at that time, when nothing else was minded but Publick Rejoicings, and Preparations for the Bridegroom's Reception, and Congratulatory Complements to the Bride.

But at *Turin*, a little before the *Portuguese* Fleet arrived at *Nizza*, the *Savoyard* Nobility, instead of being frighted into a Compliance by the Motions of the *French* Troops on the Frontiers, were but made thereby more sensible of their Danger, and therefore they impatiently waited for an Opportunity to impart their Minds to the Duke himself; and this, by good Fortune, the Duchess gave 'em, by her retiring to a Country-House near the Town; they taking the advantage of her Absence, represent to his *Royal Highness*, how much it imported him to consider, That he was little better than a Prisoner, whilst his Dominions were surrounded with the *French* Troops on every side: That the Duchess had so concerted Matters with King *Louis*, that his Highness's best places were to be put in that King's Hands, as soon as he should embark for *Portugal*: That she was sending him to *Lisbon*, not that he might Reign there, but that she might Reign in *Savoy*: That he must not think to act as a Sovereign in *Portugal*, whilst the Prince and the Queen liv'd; and consequently, it was not for his Interest, to be kept in Subjection there, when he might stay at Home and Command them, as his most Dutiful Subjects: That the *Portugueses* bore a mortal Hatred to Strangers, and had not consented to this Marriage but by Compulsion; and would shew themselves



selves to be of another Mind, at the Death of the Prince-Regent, and might serve him as they had done the King of *Spain* ; that is, deprive him of the Crown ; in which Case he was like to be turn'd out of all : For the *French*, during his Absence, would be sure to make themselves Masters of *Savoy* ; and it would be a hard Matter to get them into the Humour to restore it.

This Language we may be sure founded very harsh in the Ears of the young Duke, who had hitherto been bred up among the Women, whose Grand Concern it was, to take care that nothing should put him out of Humour. When his Fright was a little over, he began to ask them, *What Help there was to prevent all these Mischiefs ?* They told him roundly, *That there was no other Remedy, but to sign an Order to Arrest his Mother.* This Proposal went to the very Heart of him ; but they assuring him, that he must resolve upon it, and that presently, if he ever hoped to live happily, or prevent his own Ruin ; he at last, tho' with Tears in his Eyes, sign'd the Order they desired. While they were getting all things ready for putting the same in execution, the Duchess, who as yet had heard nothing of the Matter, returns from the Country ; but it was not long before she discovered the whole Intrigue : For as soon as she alighted from her Coach, she went directly to the Duke's Apartment, where she found the poor Prince pensive and melancholy, and scarce able to look his Mother in the Face ; she, surpriz'd at this alteration, began to caress the Child, and enquire what the Matter was : He, for some time, instead of answering her, fell a crying ; but she,

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resolv'd to know the Business, caressed him so long, 'till she got it out of him ; so, at last, he told her all, both what he had done, and who they were that had put him upon it. The Duchess, tho' in no small Astonishment at this News, had yet her Wits about her, and with an extraordinary Presence of Mind, ordered the Guards about the Court to be doubled, got the principal of them that had plotted her Imprisonment to be Arrested, and to bring over the People on her side, gave out, That *the Prisoners, and their Accomplices, had conspired to seize upon the Duke's Person, in order to deliver him up to the Spaniards.* In the mean while, the *Portuguese Fleet*, under Command of the Duke of *Cadaval*, arrives at *Nizza* ; but it seems, the Duchess, tho' she had provided for her present Security, began to gather from this Mutiny of the Nobility, that she was like to have but an uneasy Government of it ; and that she should be forced to a greater Dependance upon *France*, and be more at their Discretion, than she had at first imagined ; which might render her Authority much more precarious, than if the Duke her Son remain'd in the Country ; wherefore she found it necessary, that his Highness should be very much indispos'd, during the stay of the *Portugueses*, and not in a Condition to go on Board : So that the Duke of *Cadaval*, with the rest of the *Fidalgo's*, were forced to return as they came ; how well pleas'd at their Disappointment, let the Reader imagine. Presently upon their Departure, the Duke recovered of his Indisposition, and the Prisoners were never prosecuted for their pretended Plot ; which makes some People to be of Opinion, that this Commotion of the Nobility was  
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from the very beginning contriv'd by the Duchess her self, who presently after the Conclusion of the Match, might begin to consider the ill Consequences likely to ensue upon it, which may have made her resolve to break it ; but wanting a plausible Excuse to stop the Mouths of the *Portugueses*, and *French*, by her secret Intrigues caus'd all this Bustle, in order only to cast Dust in their Eyes. But howsoever this was, the *Portugueses*, when they came to themselves, especially after their King's Second Marriage, were as well satisfied with the breaking off of the Match, as the *Savoyards* could be, so that in Conclusion the *French* remain'd the only Duppes, who thought to have impos'd upon them both. This is the most tolerable Account that is given of this mysterious Affair ; for such it is still confess'd to be, by those that have penetrated the deepest into it. The World, tho' most of the foregoing Particulars were publickly discours'd of at the time, continuing still to wonder, how it came to pass, that the Court of *Savoy* should thus unexpectedly depart from a most solemn Engagement ; for his *Royal Highness* was then so very young, that he did nothing of his own Head, he was meerly passive all the while ; indeed had this Affair been of a later Date, and transacted some Years after the Duke came of Age, and had appear'd upon the Publick Stage to act for himself, the Wonder in all probability would not have been so great.

2dly, *Louis* the Fourteenth, King of *France*, his Pretensions to the *Infanta*, were the Publick Talk, and not without some Grounds, after the Death of his Queen, *Donna Maria Theresa de Austria*,

*Austria*, who departed this Life in 1683. This Match must have been very advantageous to that King, if for no other Reason than that it would give him Footing in *Portugal*; by which means it would be more easie for him to seize upon the rest of *Spain*, upon the Catholick King's Decease; and 'tis not doubted, but there were some Overtures made by the *French* Ministers at *Lisbon*, tho' not in so vigorous a manner as to give occasion to the Report that went current amongst the *Portugueses*, it being commonly believ'd by that People, that his *Most Christian Majesty* had so violent a Passion for their *Infanta*, that he was coming to fetch her away by force of Arms: For, on the contrary, it was observed at the Court of *Lisbon*, that the *French* were not so warm in this Negotiation, as to oblige them to come to a Resolution, or give any positive Answer; which perhaps proceeded from that King's prudent Consideration, that this was an Affair wherein he was like to be oppos'd, either openly or under-hand, by all Princes in *Europe*, and perhaps most of all by the *Portugueses* themselves, who do not seem over-desirous to come under the *French* Government; this might make him loth to run the hazard of being deny'd: For which Reason perhaps it was, that his Ministers and Partisans at *Lisbon*, seem'd to do little more than feel the Pulse of that Court, without directly putting the Question; or if they went so far, they suffered themselves to be put off with very slender Excuses; if it be true, as 'tis reported, that the Court of *Portugal* desired time to consider, 'till *France* had fully concluded the Peace with *Germany* and *Spain*, and deferr'd giving their Answer, on account of the Death of  
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King of *Alfonso*, hapning about the same time : But the Death of that poor Prisoner, made little or no alteration in the Publick Affairs, especially in what related to the *Infanta* ; so that these Excuses only shew'd, that the Court of *Portugal* was wholly averse to the Match, and the Negotiation, as it was but coldly carried on, so in a short time it came to nothing.

3dly, The Prince of *Tuscany* was another Pretender, and the Match with him seem'd once to be in great forwardness ; but it was broke off at last, as it is said, by the Grand Duke's insisting, That in case his Eldest Son had Issue by the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, the Children of this Marriage should succeed only to that Crown, and his Estates in *Italy* should be settled upon his Second Son, Prince *John Gaston* ; but this the *Portuguese* Court could not be brought to agree to.

4thly, *Charles* the Second King of *Spain*; presently after that King became a Widdower, the Princess of *Portugal* had a great Party in his Council, who were for having her to supply the place of the deceased Queen ; and for some time there appeared but one Rival in competition with her, viz. the Princess of *Tuscany*, against whom she carried it clearly : For *Spain* could propose to it self no greater Advantage from the Marriage of that Princess, than a small Sum of Money ; small, I mean, in respect to the Necessities of that Crown ; which are such, that all the Great Duke, Rich as he is, could give with his Daughter, would go but a little way to supply them : Whereas the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, besides

sides the hopes that a Marriage with her might prove an Engagement upon the King her Father to enter into the Alliance, that was then forming against the *French*, was like to bring along with her a further Prospect of Re-uniting *Portugal* to the *Spanish* Monarchy : For tho' the King her Father was now married again, and the Queen big with Child a Second-time ; yet it was the general Opinion then, that none of King *Peter's* future Issue would be long-liv'd. But the great Concern at *Madrid*, being to procure for his *Catholick Majesty*, a Princess that might secure the Succession, and so prevent the Dissipation of the whole Monarchy ; and there being none in *Europe* so promising in that respect, as the House of *Nieuburg*, the Princess *Mariana* was for that Reason preferred to the *Infanta* of *Portugal*.

5thly, The *Electoral Prince Palatine* of the *Rhine*, who succeeded so well in his Pretensions, that a Marriage was in a manner concluded on ; inso-much, that it was once thought, the same Fleet which carried his Sister to *Spain*, would return with his intended Spouse. But this Match likewise was broken off on a sudden, I know not how ; but the Blame is laid wholly on the *Portuguese* Ministers : And such as pretend to be well acquainted with the Affairs of this Court, reckon the Miscarriage among the greatest Bevues they are charged with.

6thly, The *Dauphin* of *France* : This Prince is said to have been the first that was proposed to the *Infanta* ; and that *France* did its utmost in his behalf, before either his Marriage with the Prin-



Princess of *Bavaria*, or the *Infanta's* with the Duke of *Savoy* was ever thought on ; that is to say, before the *Infanta* was yet marriageable : So that it seems, they resolv'd to secure her, if possible, to themselves, she being at that time look'd upon by all, as the undoubted Heiress of the Crown, her Mother being then living, and in no hopes of any other Issue : But for the same reason, there was such opposition made to all Overtures in the *Dauphin's* behalf, that it was impossible their Pretensions should take effect ; but howsoever this was, 'tis agreed, that he was the last Pretender ; and as his Pretensions were prosecuted with more warmth, so they were more readily hearken'd to than the King his Father's : For now the Case was altered in *Portugal*, as well as in *France* ; the *Portugueses* began to conceive great hopes of the King's Issue by his Second Marriage, as knowing perhaps the sinister Opinion of the World in that respect to be without ground. Nor was the *Dauphin's* having three Sons at this time, any Exception against him, for he was still an advantageous Match for an *Infanta* of *Portugal*, that was now losing all hopes of succeeding in the Throne, and much to be preferr'd to an Elector of the Empire, especially one outed of his Dominions, and reduced to so low an Estate as the *Palatine* was at that time ; wherefore this Match was said to be in as great a forwardness as any of the former. I have been credibly inform'd, that the King us'd to console the *Infanta*, during her Illness, with the Hopes of its happy Conclusion. But it was then too late, this Princess having been so often frustrated in her Expectations, was not, as we may well suppose, over forward to entertain hopes of this kind ;

kind ; this Match could not be more sincerely design'd than some of the former had been, and therefore was as liable to be broken off as the rest were ; but what the Success of it would have been is uncertain, Death preventing the *Infanta's* being ever disappointed again. She departed this Life *October* the 21<sup>st</sup>, 1690, just a Year after the Birth of Prince *John*, the surviving eldest Son of the late Queen ; the promising hopes of whose Life, together with the Queen's being great of another, put an end to her Expectations of ever ascending to the *Portuguese* Throne ; and consequently, she who had for several Years been the Idol of that Nation, must of course have had the Mortification to see their Zeal cool'd on a sudden, and their Devotion directed another way, and her self, no doubt, forc'd to go along with the Stream, and bear a part in the Publick Rejoicings, and Congratulations, for the cause of her Exclusion. *Portugal*, which from her very Infancy she had been taught to call her own, being now become another's, was but an uneasie place for her ; and the rather, because she began to think herself confin'd to it, and to lose all hopes of Reigning elsewhere, there being now scarce one Throne left vacant for her, who had been so much contended for by almost all the unmarried Sovereigns in *Christendom* ; so that at last she began to think of taking up with a Cell, expressing her Apprehensions to those that freely convers'd with her, of her being like to end her Days in a Monastery, thinking, perhaps, that after so many Miscarriages, the Treaty then on foot was not much to be depended on.

These things may be supposed to have gone to the Heart of this Princess, so as to add to that

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Grief and Melancholy, which, as 'tis believed, contributed to the hastning of her end. There were malicious Reports spread throughout *Europe*, soon after her Death, which would needs have it, that she was hurried out of the World in a more violent manner. I shall not relate them, being well satisfy'd of their Untruth, after the exactest Enquiry I could make concerning them, they are supposed to have been first rais'd by the Partisans of *France*, who are not wanting in their turn, to lay hold on all Occasions to blacken their Enemies : It was for the *Austrian* Interest, say they, that the Succession should be secured to the King's Children by his Second Marriage ; and therefore, as they will needs have it, some extraordinary Means must have been used to remove the *Infanta* out of the way ; as if the Sister could upon any pretence dispute the Succession with her Brother : But fearing belike, that this was not Ground sufficient to support their Calumny, they have themselves endeavour'd to give a mortal Wound to the Honour of the deceased Princess, and thereby far exceeded the Cruelty they suppose to have been shewn her by others. But it is a sufficient Answer to all their Slanders, that such impartial Persons as are well acquainted at the Court of *Lisbon*, do affirm, That they never heard any call the Vertue of that Princess in question ; that his Majesty had ever shewn himself a most tender Father, but more especially as she drew towards the latter End ; that the Extreme Unction was administered to her on the Day of her Death, in the presence of Cardinal *Dom Verissimo de Alemcastro*, one had in great Veneration by the *Portugueses*, for his great Probity and Innocency of Life,  
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by that Great and Noble Prelate, Dom *Lewis de Sousa* (now Cardinal), Arch-Bishop of *Lisbon*. The hardest thing that had any probability in it, was reported by the *French* People, that had been in the Service of her Mother ; who pretended, that a Coffin was brought into her Chamber, some Days before she expired : Which, supposing the thing to be true, might be done only to put the Princess in mind of her approaching Death, and therefore well design'd, among People that are Religious in good earnest. As for the *Condé de Atouguia*, whose Death, perhaps, was the cause why these Reports were entertain'd in the World, he was advanc'd in Years, and was a married Man, and so that formal Story of a Marriage, of Conscience, must necessarily be false. It is not deny'd, but that he was found dead one Morning in the Court of the Palace ; but the Government did not think fit to make any strict Enquiry by what Hand, or for what Reason this Nobleman fell, and therefore it becomes not private Persons to take that Liberty.

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*Of the KING's Issue, by his Second Marriage.*

DOM JOHN, &c. I have not seen a List of the rest of his Names, if he had any more than one : But Father *Leopold Fues*, the Queen's Confessor, in a Letter to *Padre Vieira*, assured this later, that her Majesty, while she was big of him, promis'd to give this Son of hers, (she not doubting but it would be a Son) the Sur-name of *Xavier*. He was born in the Year 1688, on the 30th Day of *August* ; whence *Vieira* proves him to be the Gift of *Xavier* : For counting backwards from the Day of his Birth, he finds, that he must have been conceiv'd upon the Eve, or the Day of *St. Francis Xavier*, which is the First or Second of *December* ; so that it seems there was a double Reckoning among the *Jesuits* : For *Padre Balthesar Duarte*, counts from the Twenty-first of *November*, which was the Day when her Majesty first made use of *Xavier's* Cap.

One would think, that so short-liv'd a Prince (for he liv'd not above Seventeen Days) should give no further Trouble to a Writer, than barely to tell of his coming into the World, and going out again ; and doubtless we should have heard no more of him, had not the great *Vieira* design'd him for the Universal Empire, and resolv'd that he might not lose the many good things he had written on that Subject, to conti-

due him in the Government in spite of Death it self. But as the Case stands, whiles that Father shall have Credit with Posterity, as if any regard be to be had to the Judgment of the present Age, his Authority will go on increasing, while *Portugal* is a Nation, this Prince will have a fair Chance, to make a greater Figure in the Chronicles than any of his Predecessors. If I should undertake his History, according to the Account this Father gives of him, I must be forced to go back for 500 Years; and to continue his Reign, I must look I know not how many Ages forward. I should not give my self that trouble, were this the Rêvery of one single Writer; but he grounds his Doctrine upon a certain Revelation, that for this last Age hath been receiv'd almost for Gospel, by the whole Nation, but more especially among the Learned; there having been scarce a Writer, whether Historian or Divine, that hath appear'd of late Years, but hath either spoken of it at large, or referr'd to it as an unquestionable Truth; and since it contains a Prediction that must, if ever, be accomplish'd in our time, some Account of it is necessary to them that would be acquainted with the present State of *Portugal*.

This Revelation is pretended to have been made to *Alfonso Henriquez*, the first King, the Evening before he receiv'd that Title, upon the Vigil of St. *James*, in the Year 1139; this Prince being then encamped in the Plains of *Ourique*, at the Head of a handful of *Portugueses*, against five Kings, commanding an Army of 400000 *Mores*, according to them that speak modestly, most Writers make the Number to be much greater;



as he was musing on the Business of the next Day, when the Battle was to be given, he chanced to fall into a Slumber, and dreamed he saw an Old Man coming to him, and bidding him, *Be of good Courage, for that he should obtain an entire Victory over the Infidels.* And while he was yet in his Dream, one awakening him, told him, *That there was an Old Man without the Tent to speak with him :* Who being introduc'd, was known by the Prince for the same he had just before seen in his Sleep ; and proved to be a Hermit that liv'd in a Cell hard by. The Hermit gave him the same Encouragement as before ; but told him withal, *That God had fixed the Eyes of his Mercy upon Him, and his Seed, until the Sixteenth Generation, wherein his Off-spring should be diminished, (in quâ attenuabitur Proles tua) ; but when it was so diminished, he would have regard and see to it, (in quâ attenuatâ ipse respiciet & videbit).* Ordered him, *when he heard the Hermitage-Bell that Night, to come without the Camp, and Alone.* Alfonso doing as he was bid, saw a shining Ray towards the East, increasing more and more ; and while he was attentively looking on it, he saw within it a Cross more resplendent than the Sun, with our Saviour upon it, attended by a multitude of young Men in white, whom he took to be Angels. Alfonso expostulated with our Lord, for appearing to him rather than to the Infidels, as if he came to increase the Faith of one that believ'd already. Christ told him, *That he did not come to increase his Faith, but to encourage him against the Battle ; commanding him, to accept the Title of King, which his People should give him next Day :* And continued, *For I am He that build up, and scatter Empires and Kingdoms ; and*

*I will establish to myself an Empire in thee, and thy Seed after thee, that my Name may be made known to Nations that are afar off, &c.*

This Account, tho' more at large, and with other Particulars in it, that are not to our present purpose, is contain'd in a Paper with *Alfonso Henriquez's* Name to it, and those of several Lords and Prelates for Witnesses: It is said to have been sworn to by *Alfonso*, thirteen Years after he had seen the Vision; but it lay hid, and no mention was made of it for above 400 Years, tho' it hath since been pretended, that some obscure Intimations of the Story are to be found in old Writers, particularly the famous Poet *Camoens*; who indeed hath something like it, with almost the very Words of *Alfonso's* Expostulation; and it seems, that he either took it from the Paper, or the Composer of the Paper took it from him. It was found out at last in the Year 1596, in the *Cartorium* of the famous Monastery of *Alcobaca*, founded by this King, and a Copy of it was sent to the Court at *Madrid*; for *Philip the Second* was then possess'd of *Portugal*. It was received by the *Spaniards* with great Satisfaction, for in truth it seem'd to give them a Divine Right to the Crown of *Portugal*: For who could think otherwise, but that *Philip* was the Person design'd in the Promise, that it was he who had been pitch'd upon by Providence so many Ages before, to supply the Default of *Alfonso Henriquez's* Offspring, which in his time had suffered so great a Diminution, that *Sebastian* the 16th was the last of the Male-Line; he was surviv'd indeed, and succeeded by his old decrepid great Uncle, *Henry* the Cardinal, who was the 16th King,



excluding *Alfonso Henriquez* ; but he did nothing else in his short Reign, than secure the Crown to *Philip*. And this diminution of the Royal Family was the more remarkable, for that of the nine Sons of King *Emanuel*, whereof six lived to be Men, there was no lawful Issue of the Male-Line remaining at *Henry's* Death : So that this Paper made so much for *Philip's* Purpose, that none question'd its Authority among the *Spaniards*, their Writers, whereof a considerable Number might be cited, look'd upon it as unquestionable, and great use was made of it, in the great Controversie about Precedency between the *Catholick* and the *French* Kings ; in-somuch, that *Valdes*, who by Command from the former, wrote the Treatise, *De Dignitate Regum*, which was presented to the Pope, lays a mighty stress upon his Master's being King of *Portugal*, which in his Opinion ought to give him the Right of Precedency, since that Kingdom was, as he asserts, of a Divine Foundation ; proving his Assertion from the Authority of this Paper, whereof he produces a Copy. But when the *Portugueses*, in the Year 1640, revolted from the *Spaniards*, and began to turn the Prediction against them, finding that *John* Duke of *Bragança* was the Person design'd by it, they then changed their Note, and question'd the Authority of the Piece ; yet having so often allowed of its Antiquity, they did not flatly deny, but it might be as ancient as the Date ; but thought it was a Device of *Alfonso Henriquez*, upon whose bare Word, or Oath, the Credit of the Vision relies, (for it is not pretended that any saw it but himself,) and that this Prince might feign the Story to establish his Authority, and make himself more reverenc'd by the People. Should

Should I pursue this Matter as far as it would go, it would engage me in a long History of the *Sebastianists*, and *Fifth Monarchists* of *Portugal*, for which I have now neither time nor room. But my present Business is with the great *Vieira*.

Upon the Revolution in 1640, the *Portugueses*, almost to a Man, the *Sebastianists* excepted, saw clearly, that the Duke of *Bragança* was the Person, in whom the new Empire should have its Rise: For tho' *Sebastian* was the 16th King, yet this Duke was of the 16th Generation, and therefore his Pretensions were more agreeable to the Letter of the Prediction; but yet to make him of the 16th Generation, they were fain to include *Alfonso Henriquez* for one; which the *Spaniards* thought a very material Objection. However, *Vieira* shews, how that it was ordain'd by Providence, that the Dukes of *Bragança* should supply the defect of the Male Line: For he proves, that a like Method was follow'd in the Kingdom of *Judah*, the only Kingdom of Divine Foundation besides that of *Portugal*; his Argument is drawn from these Words of *Jacob*, *Non auferetur Sceptrum de Judah, & Dux de femore ejus, donec veniat qui mittendus est*. Here he would have us mark well, that the word *Sceptrum* signifies Kings, and the word *Dux* Dukes, and so the Text declares, that there should be no Failure of Kings and Dukes of the Descendants of *Judah*; and accordingly, after the Kings had fail'd in the time of the Captivity, the Dukes succeeded; such were *Zerubbabel*, and the *Maccabees*: And in the same manner, when the direct Line of *Portugal* fail'd, the Kingdom was to be supply'd by the Dukes, viz. the Dukes of *Bragança*. But he



he thinks, that what was said concerning the Diminution, or Attenuation of the Royal Offspring, was to be accomplish'd in the Sons of *John* the Fourth. As First, By the Death of *Dom Theodosio* the Eldest, and next in *Alfonso*; and that partly by the Sickness he had in his Childhood, (for the Father had been a great Stickler for the Party, which held *Alfonso* to be lame and maim'd all over his Right-side; and was one of the first that were banished at that Prince's taking upon him the Government, being suspected to have drawn up the Remonstrance read to him by the Secretaty of State) and yet he tells his Auditors by the way, That one half of a *Portuguese* King, should be able to beat the greatest Monarch in the World. But the Diminution was compleated at *Alfonso's* Death, for then the Royal Family was reduced to one single Male, viz. his present Majesty, *Dom Pedro*, whom he makes to be the *Proles attenuata*, of the 16th Generation, upon whom the words, *Ipsæ respiciet & videbit*, were to be fulfilled. Now he asserts, that *Respicere & videre*, in the Prediction, signifies to give a Son; because *Hannah* saith, 1 Reg. 1 Cap. *Si respiciens videris afflictionem famulæ tuæ dederisque sexum virilem*: Adding, that it is not to give one, but many Male-Children: For we read in the same Chapter, *Donec sterilis peperit plurimos*. But during the time of the King's Marriage with his first Queen, this Prophecy was like to come to nothing, since in all that time he had but one Daughter; whereas *Respicere & videre*, plainly signifies, to give a great many Sons; and the King's want of Male-Issue, could not be supply'd by the *Infanta's* Marriage with the Duke of *Savoy*: For the King being the Off-spring of  
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the 16th Generation, was himself the 17th Generation, and the *Infanta* the 18th; so that the Promise could not reach to her Issue: And if the Crown had been settled, as 'twas intended, upon her, the Prophecy could never be fulfilled. Hence, as the Father thinks it was, that the Match with *Savoy* was broken off in so surprising a manner; and that his Majesty's first Queen died to make way for his Second Marriage, by which he had this Son, to whom we are now to return:

Upon the Birth of this Child, the Father mounts the Chair, and takes for his Text these words, *Respexit & vidit*, proves by Arguments not worth repeating, That *Xavier* was the shining Ray that was seen by *Alfonso Henriquez*, before the Crucifix appear'd to him, shews how *Xavier* procured the Kingdom for *John* the Fourth, and this Son for the present King. He demonstrates, that since King *Peter* is the diminish'd Off-spring of the 16th Generation, This must be the Child promised by *Ipse respiciet & videbit*. He then goes on to shew, how that the Child was to be an Emperor; because the Crucifix, in the beginning of his Discourse, spoke only of a Kingdom, and the Title of a King; but after mention made of the 16th Generation, he changes his Language, and speaks of Empires, *Ego enim ædificator sum Regnorum & Imperiorum*; and *Volo in Te & in semine tuo Imperium mihi stabilire*. Now this Empire, he says, is not to be the Empire of *Germany*, but one greater than any that hath been before, and Universal, over all the World; that is to say, it must be the *Fifth Monarchy*. That there shall be  
such



such an Universal Monarchy, he brings the Common-place Proofs: He allows that this *Fifth Monarchy* is to be the Kingdom of *Christ*; but shews, that it shall be this young Prince's nevertheless: For it is said, I will establish to *my self* an Empire in Thee, and in thy Seed, *Volo enim in Te & in semine Tuo Imperium Mihi stabilire*: So that the Empire was to belong to *Christ*, and the Prince of *Portugal*, at the same time. He thinks this Promise is much alike to that made to St. Peter, *Tu es Petrus & super hanc Petrum ædificabo Ecclesiam meam*: And that as the Universal Church, tho' it be *Christ's*, is yet St. Peter's too; and by being St. Peter's, is nevertheless the Church of *Christ*: In the like manner this Empire shall be of *Christ*, and of the Prince of *Portugal* at the same time; and in effect, the *Jesuit* had so ordered it, that this young Prince was to be *Christ's* Vicar, and have a Sovereign Power over the whole World, in Temporals, in the same manner as the Pope, *Christ's* Vicar in Spirituals, hath an Universal Jurisdiction over the Church; this Monarch being the Person spoken of in that place of *Daniel*, *Ecce quasi filius hominis veniebat & ad Antiquum dierum pervenit, & dedit ei potestatem & honorem & regnum, & omnes populi, Tribus, & Linguae, ipsi servient*: For since *Christ* is called, *Filius hominis*, this *Quasi filius hominis*, must be *Quasi Christus*, i. e. *Christ's* Vicar, his Vicar in Temporals, as the Pope is in Spirituals. That this Emperor must be a King of *Portugal*, is plain, because *Hannah* concludes her Song with these words, *Dominus judicabit fines terræ, & dabit Imperium Regi suo*, i. e. to the King of *Portugal*: For tho' all Kings may in some sense be said to be from God, yet other Kings are made by Men, whereas

whereas He of *Portugal* is made immediately by God himself, and so is more properly called His King, *Et dabit Imperium Regi suo* ; and he makes it plain, that his *Imperial Majesty* must be the New-born Infant ; for that he was given to the diminish'd Off-spring of the 16th Generation from *Alfonso Henriquez*.

When the *Father* had thus provided for the young Prince, he soon after received an Account of his Death, which doubtless would have put any other Teller of Fortunes into no small Confusion ; but it had no such effect upon *Padre Vieira*, for he was a *Jesuit*, and was so little apprehensive of the Raillery of his Auditors, that he published his Sermon, joyning thereto an Apology ; wherein he proves, after his manner, that this *Quasi filius hominis*, or *Christ's* Vicar in Temporals, was to die, as the Prince did, in order to take possession of the Universal Monarchy, which he could not do any where else but in Heaven : For doth not the Text expressly say, *Ecce cum nubibus Cœli quasi filius hominis veniebat, & usque ad Antiquum dierum pervenit, & in conspectu ejus obtulerunt eum, & dedit ei Potestatem & Honorem, &c.* He supposes, that *Christ's* first Vicar in Temporals, should go to Heaven, in order to take Possession of his Government over the Earth, for the same Reason that the first Vicar in Spirituals had the Keys of Heaven delivered to him here on Earth : For when *St. Peter* had the Keys of the Church given him on Earth, *Christ* was himself then on Earth ; but he being now in Heaven, it was convenient that his Vicar in Temporals should go to Heaven, in order to be instated in the Government of the Earth, and this after the Example of Vice-Roys, and Governors,



vernors, who when they pay Homage for the Kingdoms and Provinces, where they are to exercise the Power, and represent the Person of the King, do not perform this Ceremony within the Kingdoms and Provinces committed to their Charge, but in the place where the King then is, whether he be at Court, or whether he be absent from it : Now Heaven is *Christ's* Court, and because he was in the World, and absent from Court, when his first Vicar did Homage for the first Universal Empire, which is that of his Church. It was done on Earth in like manner, when this his second Vicar was to pay Homage for the second Empire, which is that of the World, he was to do it in Heaven, because Christ is now at his Court in Heaven : And this he concludes to be the Reason, why the Prince was to die so soon after he was born.

But since the Prince is gone to Heaven to take Possession of the Universal Empire, who shall have the Administration of the Government here on Earth ? Shall the Prince, who hath taken his leave of us with so much haste, return again to take it upon himself ? No, he hath taken Possession, and the Prince that is to be born after him, shall have the Benefit of Primogeniture, and succeed him in the Empire ; inasmuch, that the same Empire shall be common to both the Brothers ; the Eldest, that is dead, is gone to take Possession of it in Heaven ; and the Second, who is to live, shall administer it on Earth. I confess, saith the Father, this looks new and admirable, to make one only Heir of two Brothers ; that the first Brother shall take Possession, and the other come after him, and be the Possessor : But to him, altho' it was wonderful, yet it was

no novelty ; he thinks he hath a like Instance at the Birth of *Pharez* and *Zarah*, Sons of *Judah*, the Father and Founder of the Royal Tribe : *Zarah* put forth his Arm, and when he had a Purple Thread tied thereto, he drew it in again, and let *Pharez* be born before him, and so yielded to him the Right of Primogeniture ; by which means *Zarah* took Possession of the Purple, that *Pharez* afterwards put on and enjoy'd. Thus, saith the Father, was the Succession to the Kingdom of *Judah* founded, and thus was the first Foundation laid of the Empire of *Portugal* : The Prince that was born, and presently after withdrew into Heaven, was like *Zarah*, who only took Possession of the Purple, and then drew back his Arm ; the Prince that is to be born, shall be like *Pharez*, and succeeding in the Place yielded to him by his Brother, shall enjoy the same Possession, cloath himself with the same Royal Purple, and stretch forth his Arm to grasp the Scepter. He bestows some other Thoughts upon the Parallel, to make it more exact, which I do not think convenient to Translate.

Dom *Joaon Francisco Antonio Bento Bernardo*, the King's eldest Son living, born the 22d of *October*, 1689 ; and sworn Heir to the Crown by the Three Estates of the Kingdom, assembled in *Cortes* held at *Lisbon*, *Decemb.* 1. 1697 ; a Prince, as they who frequent the Court report, of a sweet and mild Disposition, and likely to inherit the King his Father's Vertues, as well as his Throne.

Dom



Dom *Francisco*—————, born the 25<sup>th</sup> of *May*, 1691 ; a Prince of great Vivacity and Spirit, as appears by many pretty Stories of him, which the *Portugueses* entertain themselves withal. He is designed for a Knight of *Malta*, at least to hold the Grand Priory of *Crato*, the richest *Com-menda* in *Portugal*, or perhaps in all *Spain*, of which he is at present in Possession.

Dom *Antonio*—————, born the 15<sup>th</sup> of *March*, 1695 : He was cloath'd in a *Jesuit's* Habit upon his first coming into the World, which he still wears; or did, at least, not long ago ; her Majesty having devoted him to her *St. Xavier* ; and, if the *Jesuits* are to be believ'd, he is design'd to be of their Order.

*Dona Theresa Francisca Josepha*, born the 24<sup>th</sup> of *Feb.* 1696.

Dom *Emanuel*———, born the        of        1697.

Another Princess, born in the beginning of this Year 1699. If I remember a-right, her Name is *Dona Maria Xavier Josepha*.

Besides these, his Majesty hath acknowledg'd one Natural Daughter, whose Mother is reported to have been imploy'd about the Palace, to sweep the lower Rooms. This young Lady hath been bred up in a Monastery, 'till the Year 1695, when the King bestow'd her in Marriage, upon the Eldest Son of the Duke of *Cadaval*, to the great Dissatisfaction of the Nobility ; insomuch, that few or none of them would appear at the Publick  
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Reception of the Bride. I never heard that their Discontent proceeded from an Opinion, that this Marriage of the principal Person among them, was a Disgrace to the *Fidalguia* : In other Countries, perhaps, and in former Times, so Illustrious a Body might think their Blood debased by such a Match : But their Dissatisfaction was said to proceed from another Cause, they thought the Honour was too great for any Subject, the Duke of *Cadaval* not excepted ; and that he was raised thereby too much above their Level ; tho' it be confess'd by all at the same time, that next his Majesty, his Excellency hath the greatest Authority, and the greatest Estate, and is of the Noblest Blood in the Kingdom. Yet he is not of equal Quality, to them on whom the *French* King hath bestowed his Bastards ; for they to whom his *Most Christian Majesty* hath done so very great an Honour, are such Princes as are the nearest to his Blood, much nearer than the Duke is to the King of *Portugal* ; no wonder then, if so great a Value is put upon the like Honour in smaller Courts ; the Authority of the *French* being, in this Age, sufficient to alter, if not the Nature, at least the Appearance of Things, and make Things look glorious in our Days, which in former Times had another Aspect. In one Particular the *Portuguese* Court seems to have out-done the *French* on this occasion ; that is, in the Title given to this Lady, upon her being first own'd : For as I was inform'd, at the time it was ordered, that she shou'd be treated with *Altesa Real* ; whereas, I do not find, that the *French* King's Natural Children, have, as yet, got above *Altesse Serenissime* ; and this may possibly be the Reason, why Mon-



sieur *L'Abbe d'Estrees*, the *French* Ambassador, forbore to visit her, 'till he had express Orders for it from *France*. For his Master having been for some time used to prescribe Rules for the Ceremonial, he might, perhaps, think it a kind of Usurpation, for any others to take upon them to alter it : But the *Portugueses* did not altogether innovate on this occasion, for they had a Precedent at the Court of *Madrid*, where the late Don *John of Austria* took *Royal Highness* upon him ; which, perhaps, may have been the cause why the Court of *Portugal*, which is resolved, in all things, to swell up to the Grandeur of *Spain*, gave the same Title to this Lady.

It is now commonly said in *Portugal*, that the King's Natural Children have a Right to succeed him in the Throne, in default of his lawful Issue : But I believe this Opinion to be as ill grounded, as 'tis derogatory to the Honour of that Nation. Had Royal Bastards a Right to the Succession, *John* the Second, who ruled with a more Absolute Power than any King of this Nation, either before, or since, would doubtless have left the Crown to his Natural Son, Dom *Forge*, Duke of *Coimbra*, Progenitor of the Dukes of *Aveiro*, (now in *Spain*) he having laboured all he could, to obtain the Succession for him ; but all in vain : For he was forc'd, before his Death, to acknowledge for his Successor, Dom *Emanuel*, then Duke of *Beja*, whose Brother that King had slain with his own Hands. When Dom *Antonio* pretended to the Crown, after the Death of *Henry* the Cardinal, he had put an end to the great Controversie at that time on foot, about the Succession, had Bastards a Right thereto : But he himself was far from thinking they had,  
and

and therefore he grounded his Claim upon a supposed Marriage between Dom *Luis*, Son of *Emanuel*, with his Mother : It was a Prejudice to him indeed, that some suspected *Judaism* to lie lurking in his Mother's Blood : However, the Judges constituted by *Henry* to determine this Controversie, alledged his Illegitimacy as a sufficient, and the only Cause of his Exclusion.

The only Bastard that ever Reign'd in this Kingdom, was *John* the First ; yet he never pretended a Right of Succession to the Crown, but came in by Election of the Estates assembled in *Cortes*, at a time when the Throne was declared vacant, the other Pretenders being at that time Prisoners in *Castille* ; and what is more, declared Illegitimate by the *Cortes*, (whether justly, or not, is another Question), so that Bastard for Bastard, it was thought fit in this Case of Necessity, to Elect Dom *John* before any other.

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*Of the MINISTRY.*

**A**LL Publick Affairs of Importance, and such as immediately concern the King, are here managed by a Sett of Ministers, as many, or as few as the King pleases to appoint, who together are called the Council of State; and as Members of this Body, they are all treated with Excellency: The Reason, I suppose, is, because that Title is given to the Counsellors of State at *Madrid*; tho' another Reason was given by one of their Number, who said, It was their due, *because they had all of them been Ambassadors.*

To this Council the King refers all Matters of Moment, seldom, or never, resolving upon any thing before the Affair has been considered and debated among them. 'Tis said, the Reason why the King pays so great a Deference to this Council, is, partly because it consists of those who had a great hand in advancing him to his Brother's Throne; He, for this Cause, thinking it but reasonable, that they should share in the Power they had given him; partly moved thereto, by the frequent Remonstrances of the *Jesuits*, who are in great Credit with his Majesty, and as some ill-natur'd People give out, are set on by the Ministers, to be ever and anon suggesting to him, that he is oblig'd in Conscience to take this Course. But most People are so well satisfied of his Majesty's Prudence, and Justice, as to think that Things would go much better than

than they do, if he would take a greater part of the Government upon himself.

This Council, as it imitates that of *Madrid* in other things, so it is seldom guilty of any great Precipitation in its Proceedings; but People complain rather of its Slowness, and want of Dispatch; and some, who love to make the worst of things, say, That when a Business is brought before Them, they shall sit upon it four or five Times, each Session lasting five or six Hours, and after all, the Matter be oftentimes more perplex'd and intricate than before; and the King, who loses all this time, waiting for their Resolution, be as much to seek as ever. But such as talk after this rate, seem to have that Opinion of the Chapter, which is very different from what the World has entertain'd of the Canons; as will appear from the Characters of some of those excellent Persons that compose this Council: As first of,

Dom *Manoel Telles de Silva, Conde de Villar Mayo, & Marchese de Alegrete*. I name him first, not because of his Quality, (for tho' he be most Nobly descended, yet he gives place to others, whom I shall mention afterwards), but because He is in effect the Prime Minister of State, Affairs of the greatest Concern being chiefly intrusted to his Management. This Lord having born Arms, for some time, in his Youth, apply'd himself afterwards with extraordinary Diligence to the Study of Letters, and made a very considerable Progress therein; insomuch, that he is esteem'd for one of the most Learned Men in the Nation. It is said, that he was much admir'd in *Germany*, for his Readiness in speak-



ing *Latin* ; and, I suppose, it was to exercise himself in the same Tongue, that in the time of his Embassy into that Country, he set himself to write in elegant *Latin*, the Life of *John* the Second, Sir-nam'd, *The Perfect Prince*, which hath been publish'd since. In this Piece, the Noble Author hath attempted to follow the Stile and Method of the Ancients : How far he hath attain'd to either, I will not pretend to judge ; but, I believe, most candid Readers will think, he hath succeeded to admiration, considering at how low an Ebb Learning hath been in *Portugal* for this last Age ; But by this Application to his Studies, he qualify'd himself for much Greater, and more Honourable Employments, than that of an Author. At Twenty-four Years of Age, he was made one of the *Infante's Camarists*, and is supposed to have had a great hand in the last Revolution, and he hath been ever since one of the nearest to the Person of that Prince.

After some Overtures had been made of a Marriage between the King his Master, and the Princess of *Nieubourg*, this Lord was pitch'd upon as the fittest Person to carry on so important a Negotiation ; which he brought to a happy Conclusion, and conducted the Royal Bride with him into *Portugal*. Nor was that the only Service the *Conde* did on this occasion, he gain'd an Honour for his Master, which (the Emperor excepted) no Crown'd Head in *Christendom* had ever attain'd to before : For before he made his Publick Entry into *Heidelberg*, he so adjusted Matters in a Preliminary Treaty, that he was to have the Precedency of the Elector, and the Place of Honour on all Occasions. This, say the *Portugueses*, had never before been granted by an Elector,

to

the Ambassador Extraordinary of any King, tho' some of the greatest had been seeking it with much Earnestness. *But the Reputation of his Majesty's Grandeur, say they, so worthily represented by this Great Minister, together with his Excellency's great Prudence and Dexterity, gain'd for this Crown that singular Prerogative.* When his Excellency made his Publick Entry, the two Princes, *Frederick* and *Philip*, waited to receive him in the Court of the Castle, and the Elector himself went down some of the Steps that are open to the Court, to meet the Ambassador, as he came out of his Coach; his Electoral Highness desiring his Excellency to be covered, gave him the Right-hand, let his Excellency go before him through every Door; and when he had conducted him to the Place of Audience, gave him the most Honourable Seat.

This was so very great an Honour, that it had been deny'd, not only to Ambassadors, but to a King in Person: For when *Henry*, Elect of *Poland*, afterwards the Third of that Name in *France*, call'd at *Heidelberg*, in his way to his new Kingdom, there was not a Man to be seen in this very Court, where the *Conde de Villar Mayor*, had Princes to wait upon him at his *Portiere*; and the poor King was so out of Countenance, that he was fain to step aside, on pretence of making Water, 'till some Body might come to shew him up Stairs; at last, the *Rbinegrave*, accompanied with two Gentlemen that had escaped from the Butchery of *Saint Barthlemi*, met him half way on the Steps, excusing the Elector his Father, *Frederick* the Third, that he came not to do this Office, by reason of a certain Pain that he had in his Leg; but the old Elector invited



King *Henry*, the next Morning, to take a Walk with him, and by no less than Thirty Turns in his Great Hall, like that at *Westminster* ; he so breath'd the young King, as fully to convince him, that what his Son had said, was but a meer Excuse. But *Henry* came then just reeking from shedding the Blood of Innocents ; and the old Elector, who otherwise entertain'd him like a Royal Guest, had a mind to let the young King see how much a Prince falls from his Dignity, by becoming guilty of such Barbarities. So that, I confess, this Precedent ought not to be much insisted upon, in the Case of our Ambassador Extraordinary.

As for the late Elector, *Philip William*, he, it seems, was resolv'd not to stand upon Ceremonies with his Excellency ; he not only gave him the Upper-hand at his first Reception, but likewise at Meals : The Lord Ambassador always wash'd first, sat in the best Place, was serv'd first ; nay, the very Electores her self, and the Princesses her Daughters, would needs have his Excellency take the Precedency of them too ; but he was more a Gentleman than to insist upon his *Punctilio's* with Ladies : And so it was contriv'd, that at Conferences with them, there should be no Canopy in the Room, and consequently no Distinction between the Right, and the Left-hand ; and that of two Rows of Chairs, opposite to each other, the Ambassador should take the uppermost on the one side, and the Electores on the other, with the Princesses her Daughters after her in their Order ; his Excellency satisfying himself with this Equality with her Highness, thinking that he had gain'd his Point, while he kept the Elector below him. The old Elector, for his  
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part, contented himself with having got a good Match for his Daughter, while the *Portugueses* had all the Advantage in the Ceremonial on their side, and were not a little elevated with the Honour their Ambassador gain'd to the Crown, though it was no more than was lost by the Father of their Queen. Nor need we wonder, that this Court should be so highly pleas'd with his Excellency's Dexterity and Success herein, since the Ceremonial is become the Grand Concern of *Europe*, and the Subject of the most important Negotiations now on foot : For what is there that doth perplex, and embroil most Courts in *Christendom*, so much as the additional Sound of two or three Syllables in some Princes Titles ? Have we not lately seen the Force of Blood it self suspended in the most endearing Relations ? And is not Infallibility it self at a stand, and all for want of one to determine the several Degrees that are between an *Arm'd Chair*, and a *Folding Stool* ?

This Nobleman, at his Return, had the Title of Marquess *de Alegrete* bestow'd upon him, as a Mark of Honour, in Reward for his Service. But his Dexterity in Negotiations of this sort, make but a small part of his Character : He is represented by all that pretend to know him, as a most accomplish'd States-man, even by those who are so ill-natur'd as to allow that Title to no other Minister about the Court. He is suppos'd to be well acquainted with the present Posture of Affairs in *Europe*, and throughly to understand his Master's Interest ; and above all, is accounted a Person of unbiass'd Integrity ; his Country-men generally esteem him a true *Portuguese*, disinterested in his Counsels, and espousing  
no



no Party ; as having no other Designs in view, but such as he thinks may make for his Master's Service, and his Country's Good. This is the Character that's commonly given of the Marquess; the worst that is said of him, that I could ever hear, is, that his Tenderness for a numerous Family, and Care in providing for them, may have a little slackned his Vigor, in opposing the Counsels of such as are thought to have something else in view, than the Good of the State. He is said to be very zealously addicted to the Religion of his Country: He ascribed the happy Issue of his Negotiation at *Heidelberg*, to the Prayers of two Sisters, and a Daughter of his, that are Nuns in the Convent of *Madre de Deos*, a little without the City : At least the King was of this Opinion, when Cardinal *de Alemcastro* was commending him for his prudent Management, his Majesty reply'd, That *this Lord had no part in the Success, but that all was done to his Hand by the Madre de Deos*. I have been told of another remarkable Instance of his Lordship's Devotion, but know not what Credit it deserves, having no other ground for it than the common Talk of the People, among whom it was reported, That when *St. Antoninho*, (a small diminutive Image of *St. Antonio*, that hath been in great Credit for these three last Years at *Lisbon*) was hired out to go *Sargente Mor*, to the Fleet that went last Year (98), with the Vice-Roy to the *East-Indies*, among other Perquisites promis'd to the Saint, over and above his Standing-Wages of 10 *Millr. per Month*, the Marquess *de Algrete* bargain'd to give him a fine new Chappel, in case he conducted a Relation of his Lordship's safe home from *Goa*.

Dom Nuno Alvarez Pereira, Duke of Cadaval, Marquess of Ferreira, Earl of Tentugal, &c. mentioned on several Occasions before, descended of the House of *Bragança*, from *Ferdinand* the Second Duke of that Title, and consequently the King's Kinsman. This Noble Person, notwithstanding his high Birth, and vast Riches, hath qualify'd himself for all manner of Employments, having commanded both by Sea and Land, and all along made a most considerable Figure in the State, wherein he has at present the greatest Power and Authority next the King, having a hand in all Affairs relating to his Majesty, his Domestick Concerns not excepted. If any part of the Publick Business be more than other his peculiar Province, I take it to be the Revenue of the Crown, whereof he is a great Farmer, as the Foreign Affairs seems to be that of the Marquess *de Alegrete*. It is agreed, that the Authority of the Council of State, doth in a manner wholly reside in these two Great Men. It is said, they have been formerly in competition about the King's Ear, and Favour; wherein the Marquess was upheld by the Opinion his Majesty hath of his Prudence and Integrity. The King, no doubt, hath a like Opinion concerning the Duke too; but he, they say, by the Pleasantness of his Conversation, contributes likewise to his Majesty's Diversion, the Marquess consulting only his Country's Good, and his Master's Service; the Duke, as 'tis suppos'd, doth not wholly neglect his own Interest. Some will have it, that he is bias'd in favour of *France*; but, perhaps, the only Reason may be, because both his Wives have been *French*-Women, the present Duchess being



being Daughter of the Marquess of *Harcourt*.

The Duke being, as I have said, the greatest Subject in the Kingdom, takes a particular Method to make People sensible of his Grandeur ; he is not of Opinion, that he stands in any need of a pompous Equipage, or a numerous Attendance, to make himself appear considerable ; but like those famous States-men, that have made the greatest Figures in the Modern, as well as the Ancient Common-Wealths, thinks the Authority of his Person sufficient to Command those Respects that are due to his Quality. When his Excellency appears abroad in his Litter, which certainly is not made for show, he is followed only by a Trooper ; and by him, because he is General of the Cavalry. Dukes in *Portugal* had formerly their Guards allowed them ; but I have not heard, that his Excellency chuses to be attended by a Soldier, to keep up his Pretensions to that Priviledge. He is a *Familiar* of the Inquisition, as, I suppose, all other Noble-men are, it being a Mark of Honour in this County ; but at an *Auto da Fe*, other Noblemen serve as Guards to those poor Wretches that come out to hear their Sentence, whereas his Excellency supplies the Place of a Door-keeper.

Many other things are told of his Excellency, by such as pretend to give his Character ; but they are Matters which the Publick is not concern'd to know.

Dom *Luis* ( now Cardinal ) *de Sousa*, Archbishop of *Lisbon*, and *Capellaon Mor* to the King ; which, I suppose, I may translate, Dean of his Majesties Chappel ; a Prelate, who as he is of a Noble Extraction, seems to have a Mind suitable  
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to his Birth and Quality, and a Capacity sufficient to carry on his Designs, which have been always great, and always successful at long run, notwithstanding the mighty Opposition he hath met with; he having been heard to say, soon after his having receiv'd the Cap from *Rome*, That he never set his Heart upon any thing, but in the End he found ways to accomplish his Desire: And in effect, he hath rais'd himself to the highest Dignities that either *Portugal* or *Rome* cou'd bestow upon him; for his being a National Cardinal, excludes him from all Pretensions to the Pontificate.

In *Alphonso's* Reign he became suspected to the Court, by his associating himself with the disaffected Party, and was therefore order'd by the King to his Residence at *O Porto*, of which place he was Dean: When Bishops were restored to *Portugal*, he was advanc'd to that See; and from thence he was afterwards translated to the Archbishoprick of *Lisbon*; and at last, viz. in 97, received the Cardinal's Cap from *Rome*.

Tho' the two fore-mention'd Ministers have the principal Management of State-Affairs, yet they say, this great Prelate will take care, that his Vote shall have its due Weight in the Council, especially when he hath occasion to promote the Grandeur of his Brother's House. I cannot pretend to tell how far he is concern'd in Foreign Affairs; but we may suppose, considering his Profession, that those relating to *Rome*, may, if any, be his Province: But notwithstanding the great Favours he has received from thence, his Publick Conduct hath not made him suspected of any mean Compliance with that Court; on the contrary, he has endeavoured, so far as the  
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Genius of his Country will permit, to reform many of those Abuses it hath introduced ; particularly, he hath on several Occasions shewn himself a great Enemy to Exemptions, by which that Court hath establish'd its Tyranny in the World, and ruin'd the Discipline of the Church. He hath had many Clashings with the *Nuncio's*, whose Legantine Courts, he thinks, incroach too much upon his Episcopal Jurisdiction. In short, he seems to have much of the same Spirit and Character with the late Arch-Bishop *Harlai* of *Paris* ; nor has he, any more than that other great Prelate, escaped the Lash of malicious Tongues.

I have never heard, that he hath shewn so little Complaisance to the Court of *Rome*, in order to gain the Purple, tho' as all agree, he hath been aiming at it for these many Years, and considering the servile Temper of those at *Rome*, no way seems more likely to succeed ; but Dom *Verissimo de Alemcastro*, the late Inquisitor-General, had put more signal Affronts upon the Holy See, than ever the Arch-Bishop either did, or could ; and was (possibly for that Reason) promoted before him. When the Pope attempted, as several of his Predecessors had done before him, to break the present Constitution of the *Holy Office*, whereof the *Holy See* bears all the Scandal, and reaps none of the Profit : The Inquisitor, supported, I suppose, by the Court, (whose Creature the Inquisition was) set them of *Rome* at Defiance, stood all the Fire of the *Vatican*, and remain'd unmov'd at their Censures, tho' they proceeded so far as to interdict him, *Ab ingressu Ecclesiæ* ; insomuch, that his Holiness was oblig'd at last, upon a slight Composition, to desist from the Enterprize ; and at the next Promotion,

motion, the Rebel-Inquisitor was rewarded with the Cap; the same Cap, which as the Arch-Bishop pretended, had been promised to himself. Had this been under any other Pontificate than that of *Innocent* the Eleventh, the World would not have been to seek for the Reason of the Inquisitor's Promotion; but there being something more generous in this Pope's Nature, than in theirs that usually fill the Holy Chair, 'tis not unlikely, but he had some regard to the Merit of the Man; for all give Dom *Verissimo* the Character of an extraordinary good Man; tho' they say withal, that he was none of the wisest; and he may therefore be supposed to have been but an Instrument in the hands of others, when that vigorous Opposition was made to the Pope's Design of reforming the Inquisition.

It is said, that this Promotion of the Inquisitor did not a little disgust the Arch-Bishop; and that he spared not to make most grievous Complaints against those that had deceived him; and that it was not on the Court of *Rome* only that he laid the Blame of his Disappointment.

By this Promotion, the Court of *Rome* gain'd some very considerable Advantages; for thereby they took off one great Adversary, gain'd him over to their side, and by his Means disarm'd another, putting it out of his Power to do them any great harm: For after this, the Cardinal, and the Arch-Bishop were never in good Terms together; and the *Nuncio's* found the Cardinal the fittest Man on all Occasions to make head against the other, whensoever he was about to give them any Trouble: For tho' there was no Comparison between the Abilities of the one and the other, yet the Cardinal was so highly esteem'd  
for



for his Innocence and Probity, by the King, Nobility, and People, that as weak as he was, he was able to make his Party good against the Arch-Bishop; who is far from being so much, or so generally beloved.

But the *Nuncio's* have not been wanting on other Occasions, to raise up Enemies against this Adversary of theirs, *Monsignor Nicolini* was so happy in the time of his Residence, as to set the main Body of the *Fidalgo's* upon him: The manner in which he effected it, does not indeed make much for the Honour of the Holy See; however, he did not a little gratify a certain Passion, which they of *Rome* are no less ready to indulge, when a fair Opportunity offers, than they are to Court an Enemy that's too mighty for them. The *Fidalgo's* were much set upon it, to have leave for a Company of *Spanish* Strollers to Act in the Town, and were as much opposed by the Arch-Bishop; who, perhaps, might think, that the Licensing of a Publick Stage, was, in effect, to Authorize the Corruption of Manners, that it is apt to cause: Not that his Lordship was apprehensive, lest the Players should expose Religion, or turn it into Ridicule, to make Sport for the hair-brain'd unthinking Youth of the Town: For, possibly, there may not be two Nations in the World, where the Audience it self, to say nothing of the Government, wou'd be very patient at so horrible an Abuse; should any thing like it be seen upon the Stage at *Lisbon* by these very *Fidalgo's*, who were so earnest for a Play-House, their Religion would put 'em upon chastising the Offenders upon the Spot, in such a manner as ours will not justify. It is not long since they gave a terrible Instance of their Zeal upon a

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Servant of the *French* Ambassadors, who being but a *French* Papist, could not be perswaded to pay the like Reverence as others did, to an Image brought upon the Stage ; which made the People fall upon him with so much Fury, that he was carried off the place for Dead. And there is this to be said in behalf of the *Spanish* Poets, that their Plays have very little of that Leudness in them, which abounds in so scandalous a manner in those of another Country. But though Crimes of this sort are not taught in the Play-House there, yet it is much suspected, that they are practised amongst them, the Women that tread the Stage, having no better Character there than in other Places. And this, I presume, might be the Reason why their Admittance into *Lisbon* was so vigorously opposed by the Arch-Bishop, who to put a stop to all Importunities in their behalf, published an Excommunication against the Players, in case they should Act, and against all that went to see them. It was in vain for the *Fidalgo's* to desire his Lordship to recall the Sentence ; but at last they apply'd themselves to *Nicolini*, the *Nuncio*, who had now a fair Opportunity presented him to engage a powerful Party against the Arch-Bishop ; nor did he let slip his Advantage : It is true, Religion and Vertue were like to suffer by what he was about ; but those of *Rome* think these are things to be minded, when they prove subservient to their Designs ; he, therefore, without more ado, takes off the Excommunication by Virtue of his Legantine Power. The Play-House hereupon opens, and fills ; the *Fidalgo's* flocking to it like so many School-Boys, let loose from under the Discipline of their Ma-

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ster ; and, perhaps, the more eagerly, that they might a little mortifie the rigid Arch-Bishop. His Lordship withdraws for a time to his Country-House, that he might not be a Witness to so great a Slur put upon him, and to suppress his just Indignation against the *Nuncio*. But this was only a short Mortification, which considering the Occasion, must doubtless have turn'd to his Lordship's Credit, even among those that were pleas'd with it at that time. The Court of *Rome* hath since thought convenient to present him with a Cap, viz. in the Year 1697, at a Promotion wherein his Lordship, and *Monfignor Cornaro*, the then *Nuncio* at *Lisbon*, were the only Persons advanced to the Purple.

*Dom Anrique de Sousa de Tavares da Silva, Conde de Miranda, & Marquis de Aronches*, Brother to the Arch-Bishop, and acting in concert with him ; a Minister of great Sufficiency, but too much, as 'tis thought, addicted to his Pleasures : He hath served in several Embassies, as to *England*, *Spain*, *Holland*, and remains well affected to the People among whom he has resided : Infomuch, that during the late War, such as would needs have the Ministers of State to take Parties, have always given the Marquess of *Aronches*, together with his Family, to the Allies ; and we may suppose them to be much in the right, if we judge how the Noble Families stand affected to other Nations, from the Alliances they contract with Foreigners : This Lord having given his Daughter to the Prince of *Ligne*, a *Fleming*, Subject of *Spain*, and Prince of the Empire, who succeeds him in his Estate and Title ; the same Person, who, by Procurement of the Family, was sent  
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Ambassâdor Extraordinary from his *Portuguese* Majesty to the Emperor, and made that splendid Entry into *Vienna* ; of which the Publick had so large an Account in the *Gazettes*, &c.

If I do not mention the rest that are of this Honourable Body, it is because I am not so well instructed, as to be able to give a particular Account of them : But I must not omit to mention the Secretary of State ; who, tho' he hath neither a Deliberative, nor a Decisive Voice in any of the Councils, is yet, as some term him, the *Primum Mobile* of the whole Kingdom : His Office is compounded of that of Clerk of the Council, and another long since abolished, but revived for a small time by the *Conde de Castelmelhor* ; he that executed it, was called the *Escrivam de Puridade* : *Puridade*, in old *Portuguese*, signifies Secrecy, or Privacy ; but is now out of use in that Sense : The Office seems to have been much the same as that of *Privado* in *Spain*, or Prime Minister in *France* ; but nothing remains of it, now, at least in the Secretary of State, but what is purely Ministerial. The Office of Secretary, at present, as 'tis a Place of Great Trust, so it is in a manner a Place of infinite Business ; he gives an Account to the King, of whatsoever is done in the Council of State ; he is address'd to by all sorts of People that have any thing to do at Court, of what Nature soever their Business is, he proposes the Matter to the King, and returns his Answer ; and is aply'd to by Foreign Ministers on all occasions. This Place is at present executed by *Mendo Foyos Pereira*, one rais'd by the House of *Aronches*, and, as some say, greatly devoted to the Family : He is a Person not so



considerable for his Birth, as for his indefatigable Diligence in his Employment; of which he acquits himself so well, that it seems to be without Reason, that some represent him of a narrow Capacity. Foreign Ministers find it to be much for their Convenience, to Manage the Secretary, and hold a good Understanding with him, if they desire to have quick Dispatches; or when Matters relating to the Ceremonial are in Question: For if he be ill us'd, they may chance to meet with more Rubs in their way, than they look'd for. The *Nuncio's* that have been on ill Terms with him, have not been insensible of his Resentments: However, it is thought advisable by those that have to deal with this Minister, that in the Measures they keep with him, they beware, lest he perceives they are in any Awe of him; since an over-great Complaisance, may be of worse Consequence, than a Conduct that is quite contrary.

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OF THE  
INTERESTS  
OF  
PORTUGAL,  
With Relation to other  
SOVEREIGNS:  
CONTAINING,  
An Account of the most Considerable  
Transactions that have pass'd of late between  
that Court, and those of *Rome, Spain, France,*  
*Vienna, England, &c.*

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PART. II.

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*Of the Interests of Portugal, with Relation  
to Rome.*

**O**F all the Courts with which this of *Portugal* hath any Intercourse, that of *Rome* challenges the Pre-eminence, and not without Reason, considering what great Interest and Power the Pope has within the Kingdom; for however, He may be slighted in other  
B Countries,



## *Of the Interests of Portugal,*

Countries, accounted Catholick, he hath hitherto made shift to maintain his Authority in this, by virtue of the extraordinary Devotion of the *Portuguese* Kings towards the Holy See, which his present Majesty has inherited from his Ancestors, together with the Title of *The most Obedient Son of the Church*.

It is well known what Power Popes have had in former Ages in other parts of Christendom, and by what means they procured and maintained it; notwithstanding the Opposition they almost every where met with, from Princes who were perpetually struggling to preserve or recover their Liberty. But the Case of *Portugal* seems peculiar in this respect; That as it hath brought its self into a greater subjection to the See of *Rome*, than any other Kingdom, so it can plead the Merit of a voluntary Obedience. Other Nations have shown that they were in a State of Violence, while the Sovereign Pontiffs were exercising the Plenitude of their Power over them, since all of them have in some measure, more or less, eased themselves of the Oppression; while the *Portugueses*, who doubtless might have gone as far as any towards the recovery of their Liberty, do to this day bear the Yoke: It is indeed with some Impatience, for they are not insensible of its weight and smart, and see plainly that its like to lie heavier upon them still.

*Alfonso Henriquez*, their first King, refused to accept of the Crown till it was made Tributary to his Holiness; *John* the 2d. who in other Cases, knew as well as ever any Prince did, how to assert the Royal Authority, exceeded his first Predecessor in his Respect and Deference to the Holy See; for he gave the Pope an uncontrollable kind of Sovereignty within his Dominions, granting that  
his

his Bulls should be Publish'd for the future, without being examin'd by the Chancellor, or any other of the King's Ministers, which was the former practice of this, and is still observed with great exactness in other Kingdoms, to prevent incroachments upon the Civil Power. When that Magnanimous Prince, *John* the 3<sup>d</sup>. had been treated with the utmost Indignities by those of *Rome*, and they conscious to themselves of their Offences, were apprehensive of his Resentments; *Inigo Loyola* Founder of the Jesuits could assure them, that he knew the King of *Portugal* to be so good a Catholic, that he would suffer his very Beard to be trampled under feet by his Holiness, without showing the least sign of Disobedience. The Brave *Sebastian*, when the Pope to flatter his desire of Glory, bid him choose what Title he pleased, answered, That he was ambitious of no other, but that which his Ancestors had so well deserved, viz. That of *The most obedient Son of the Church*.

This great Devotion of the *Portuguese* Kings toward the Romish See, hath given the Pope the advantage to establish an Absolute Dominion within their Kingdom. Its true, his Holiness hath the Title of Sovereign only in Spirituals, but he so manages the matter, that Temporals fall in of course in *Ordine ad Spiritualia*; he is not indeed at the trouble nor the charge of maintaining the Civil Government, but then he has the Power and the Emoluments of a Temporal Sovereignty. He has his *Nuncio* always residing at *Lisbon* with a Legantine Power, and wanting only the Title of Vice-Roy, exercising his Jurisdiction in his own Courts, whence there is no appeal but to *Rome*, over the whole Body of the Clergy, who with their Dependents may well be reckon'd one half of



the Kingdom. They are commonly supposed to have much above two thirds of the Wealth; the secular Clergy who are more exempt than the rest from his Dominion, are yet his Tributarys, great summs are extorted from them for Collations, to Benefices and Bulls for Bishops: There goes to *Rome*, as I have been informed, no less than 90 Thousand Crowns before an Archbishop of *Evora* can be settled in his Chair, and all the rest may be supposed to pay in their Proportion. As for the Regulars, they are his more immediate Vassals or Soldiers rather, its true they are not in his Pay, for they live upon free Quarter, and keep the Country under Contribution, and his Holiness comes in for a share of the Spoils, by continually draining them of what they scrape from the People, every Monastery having always some Business or other depending before the *Nuncio*; or their Agents at *Rome* to procure Privileges or Indulgencies, or Composition for unpaid Masses that have been paid for, (of which they will sometimes be behind hand for many thousands, but upon Composition made at *Rome*, one high Mass said at a privileged Altar will serve for all) or to make the Ministers of that Court acquainted with their Squabbles among themselves. And on all these occasions, the Money of the Kingdom is carried to *Rome*, to be dispos'd of there by underhand Conveyances, as well as open Practices; for when a Fryar is to pass the Mountains, he is furnished with Bills for Secret, as well as Publick Service, and it is not impossible that the Holy See, may by this means undergo greater Scandal than it deserves, for the Fryars Account is allowed of upon his own word; so that should he convert a considerable sum to his own use, he cannot be discovered unless it be by a very rare Accident indeed,

deed, and yet it is no unheard of thing at *Lisbon* for one to be found out in reckoning some Thousands of Crowns for Bribes, which never were expended in the Service.

But these are not the only ways by which the Riches of *Portugal* are drawn to *Rome*; his-Holiness hath his Apostolical Collectors (for so they are called) to raise Tribute from the King's Subjects as well as his own, and to receive his share of the Taxes which the King levys in his own Dominions by his Holiness's Permission. Dispensations for Marriages, must necessarily bring him in a very considerable and constant Revenue, the forbidden Degrees being so very many in the Roman Church, whether upon the account of Consanguinity, or Spiritual Relation, that one would think there could scarce be a Wedding among Neighbours or People, that have for any time been acquainted, without a Dispensation, and it rarely, if ever happens, that a Match is broken off for want of one, supposing the Parties will come up to the price of it; if they apprehend any difficulty in it, it is but beginning the Marriage at the wrong End, and then the Dispensation is granted of course; and the Price being rais'd according to the Quality of the Persons, and nearness of the Relation, great sums are continually drawn from Families of the better sort, who commonly marry within themselves, and some of them intrench so far upon the Laws of Nature, that the House of *Austria* in the last Age, was not more confounded by the various Relations of its several Branches to each other, than some Noble Families in *Portugal* are at this day. In fine, *Portugal* is so beneficial a Province to his Holiness, that could a just Computation be made, there is no doubt but his Revenues from thence



would be found to exceed the Kings by far, the necessary Charges of the Government deducted. They are so great, that if some sudden stop be not put to them, the Kingdom is like to be exhausted in a very short time, which gives thinking People here a sad prospect of the approaching Ruin of their Country; This may appear strange to the rest of *Europe*, considering the vast advantages that must necessarily have accrued to this Kingdom, from an undisturbed Peace of above Thirty Years continuance, during which time, all other parts of Christendom have been more than once engaged in Expensive Wars; one would think that during the last War at least, which among many other advantages, brought hither so great and gainful a Trade with *England*, as took off all the Commodities the Country could vent, and that too, at prodigious Rates: I believe, I may safely say, above double to what they formerly sold for; one would think, I say, by this time that Riches and Plenty should have abounded every where. But they that have travelled the Country of late, beheld another Face of Things, and at the late Assembly of the *Cortes*, the Mouths of the Deputies were full of complaints of an Universal Desolation and Poverty, and I have been told, that some of them were sensible enough of the cause of their Misery, but I have not heard that any Motion was made in their Publick Meetings for a Redress to this their greatest Grievance.

Having given some Account of the State of *Portugal*, with respect to *Rome*, it may be expected that I should say something of the reciprocal Benefits, derived from the Holy See, upon a People that hath done, and suffers so much for its sake, or at least, of that Fatherly Tendernefs which the Pope must

must needs have for a King of *Portugal*, who purchases the favour of his Holiness by so constant and meritorious an Obedience. His Holiness must by some very distinguishing marks of Affection, put a Difference between this his *Benjamin*, from whom he hath received so much comfort, and those other Sons of his, who by their untoward Behaviour, have been always a crossing and tormenting him, He that hath been so often worried by the head-strong Emperors in former Ages, braved in *Italy* by the *Spaniards* in the last Age, and more than once in his own Capital by the *French* in our Days, and received so many Mortifications from the *Italian* Princes, from whom he might expect, that they should upon the Account of their Natural, as well as their Spiritual Relation, behave themselves more as becomes the Children of the Holy See, He one would think should have reserved the greatest and best of his Blessings for this his *most Obedient Son*. But the Holy Father seems to be affected with quite contrary Passions to other Men, to have cast away his most endearing Favours where the utmost Rigour should be expected, and where a Blessing was most lookt for to have entail'd his Curse. The Royal House of *Portugal* hath certainly had great cause for Complaints of this kind, as often as it hath been in distress, and stood in need of his Protection. When *Philip* the 2<sup>d</sup>. while the Question concerning the Succession to *Henry* the Cardinal was depending, was preparing by force of Arms, to deprive the true Heiress of her Birthright; Pope *Gregory* the 13<sup>th</sup>. did his utmost indeed to divert him from the enterprize, but it was to the end, that he might seize upon the Crown for his own use, as a Chattel of the Cardinals, alledging that his *Spoils* (among which he reckon'd the Kingdom) were



forfeitable to the Holy See; and least this ridiculous Claim should be thought insufficient, he added another; *Alphonso Henriquez*, the first King as hath been said, would needs make his Kingdom Tributary to *St. Peter*, and charged with the annual Payment of four Ounces of Gold, and this was made a pretence by *Pope Gregory*, for depriving the Posterity of that King of their Inheritance, he pretending that *Portugal* was by this means become a Feif to *St. Peter's Chair*, and as such, by default of the Male-line, was devolved to himself; but his pretensions meeting with that contempt they deserved, he still resolved to deprive the right Heirefs at any rate, and of all the Pretenders made Interest for him that had the worst Title, that is, for *Dom Antonio* the Bastard, as if he had a mind to embroil a Kingdom that had deserved so well at his hands in perpetual Wars. But it was for his convenience that King *Philip* should be diverted from troubling him in *Italy*, and convenience at *Rome* is a just Excuse for the worst Actions. However, when *Philip* by force of Arms had baffled his Holiness, as well as all the other Pretenders, and had reduced the Kingdom to his Obedience, the Pope made no scruple to acknowledge his Title, and treat him as rightful King of *Portugal*. Nor did he in this deviate from the practice of those that went before him, the Popes having on many occasions found it Turn to account to approve the Titles of the most Illegal Usurpers, ever since the extraordinary complaisance of *Boniface* the 3<sup>d</sup>. to the Emperour *Phocas*, which gave Rise to the present Grandeur of the Holy See.

But *John* the 4<sup>th</sup>. the present King's Father, who had an undoubted Right to the Crown, met with other usage at *Rome*, of which I shall here give a  
short

short Account, it being a most signal proof of the *Portuguese* Devotion to the Holy See; but withal it has so far opened the eyes of this Court, that the Ministers seem to be convinced at last of this truth, that none are so hardly used by those of *Rome*, as they that deserve best at their hands: This is certain, that the Memory of it is still fresh in their minds, as the *Nuncio's* to their great Regret are frequently given to understand, and is supposed to be in a great measure the cause why their Conduct in regard to *Rome*, begins to vary so much as it does from that of their Predecessors. After King *John* had been settled in the Throne of his Ancestors, by the Universal Acclamation of his People, and was possessed of all the Dominions belonging to the Crown, the little Town of *Ceuta* excepted, he began to think of sending a Solemn Embassy to pay his Obedience to the Pope, which is a custom observ'd by all Princes of that Communion, and was thought necessary by this King, as well to satisfy his own Devotion, as to establish his Authority among the People; and he thought he had great reason to expect, that this Embassy would be very kindly received; for to say nothing of the merits of his Ancestors, he relied much upon the Pope's great Partiality to the *French*, who out of enmity to the *Spaniards*, had espoused the *Portuguese* Interest, and solicited their cause at *Rome*. To render this Embassy the more acceptable, he made choice of a Person that was of the first Quality, and withal a Bishop *Dom Miguel de Portugal*, Brother to the *Conde de Vimioso*. But this Ambassador arriving at *Rome*, found that he had been sent upon a fruitless Errand. For the Pope as little as he cared for the *Spaniards* on all other occasions, had so much respect for them at  
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this time, that for fear of displeasing them, he was content to put the greatest Indignity in the World upon a King of *Portugal*. This was *Urban* the 8<sup>th</sup>. from whom better things might been expected than from those that usually fill the Holy Chair. But his Holiness without having the least regard to the Ambassador's Character or Quality, or the obliging Message he came upon, refused to admit him into his Presence, or suffer his Ministers to acknowledge him for an Ambassador, so that after a whole years Solicitation for Audience, he was fain to return as he came. This the *Portugueses* thought to be an Indignity that could not have been put upon the Representative of any Idolatrous or Mahometan Prince, without violating the Laws of Nations. All the Favour that could be obtain'd at that time, was, That a Congregation should be appoinned on pretence of consulting what was fit to be done in the Case. The Congregation consisted of the two *Barbarini Cayetan*, and *Pamphilio*; Cardinal *Francisco*, the elder of the *Barbarini* was made Chairman, to take care that the result should be according to his Uncle's mind. He obliged the Secretary of the Embassy to give him an account of the King his Master's Title, and when nothing could be objected against that, he began to pick Quarrels upon pretence that the Ecclesiastical Immunities had been violated in *Portugal*, and some very great affront given to the Apostolical Collector; and when Reparation was offered to these Grievances, his Eminence gave the Secretary to understand, that he grew troublesome: But *Pamphilio*, who it seems, was not of the secret, was clearly of Opinion, that that the Ambassadors of King *John* ought to be admitted, at least after he had been four years in Possession (supposing him to be an Usurper) and to  
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justifie his Opinion, he wrote, as 'tis said, a large and learned Discourse, but when Cardinal *Pamphilio* came to be Pope *Innocent* the 10th. he was quite of another mind, and would not be persuaded that fourteen years Possession were sufficient to qualifie this King, to send an Ambassador to *Rome*.

Upon the Exaltation of this Cardinal to the Papacy, King *John* resolves to make another Tender of his Obedience to the Holy See, but for fear of meeting with the like affront as before, he signifi'd his intention by the *French* Minister then residing at *Rome*, and received for answer, That his Ambassador, in case he sent any thither, should not be suffered to come within the Gates of the City. However, his Holiness either prick'd with remorse for his barbarous Usage of this Prince, or perhaps willing to make his Injustice known to the World, in order to inhance his merit with the *Spaniards*, appointed another Congregation to consider of the matter. In this Congregation the case was again Examined and Debated, and it plainly appear'd, that according to the Civil and Canon-Laws, the *Portuguese* Ambassador ought to be admitted, even supposing his Master's Title were disputable, so that it were granted with the Reserve, *sine Præjudicio Tertij*. This Result, as little favourable as it was, to one whom they at *Rome* could not but know to be a Rightful King, instead of being notified to the Party most concern'd, was sent to *Madrid* to be communicated by the *Nuncio*, there to the Ministers of that Court, his Holiness not having the Courage to do any thing that had the least appearance of Justice, without leave first had from them. It was indeed for his Interest to keep in it if it were possible with both Parties, but if that could not be done, the weaker was to be Sacrifi'd to him that could do his Holiness



ness most mischief. However, before so beneficial a Province as *Portugal* was utterly abandon'd, the *Nuncio* at a Conference with the *Spanish* Ministers, made use of all his Cunning to draw them in to consent, that his Master might act in this Case according as Justice, and what is more as his Interest obliged him, and to make the thing go down the more easie with them, he avoided as much as was possible coming to the merits of the Cause, or giving the least intimation that his Master approved of the King of *Portugal's* Right to the Crown. He allowed that Prince to deserve all the ill names that the *Spaniards* were pleas'd to give him, and after all, show'd that his Master thought himself obliged in Conscience to admit of his Ambassador, stating the Case in these most obliging Terms: "That the Pope as Christ's Vicar  
 "is under an indispenfable Obligation, to use all  
 "means for preserving the Purity of the Catholick  
 "Faith throughout the World; the first foundati-  
 "on whereof is Obedience paid by a publick Act  
 "to the Apostolick See, and sworn by Princes in  
 "their own, and their Subjects behalf; and since  
 "the Habit of Faith is consistent with sinful Acts in  
 "the same Subject, the Pope might, and was bound  
 "to receive from a Robber and a perjur'd Person,  
 "a solemn promise of Perseverance in the Catho-  
 "lick Faith; so that though the *Castillians* held  
 "the Duke of *Bragança* for a Robber that had  
 "usurped the Crown of *Portugal*, and for a per-  
 "jur'd Person that had violated his Oath of Fealty  
 "to King *Philip*, yet the Vicar of Christ was ne-  
 "vertheless under an indispenfable obligation to  
 "receive him as a faithful Son of the Church, by  
 "that Solmn Act which his Ambassador should  
 "perform in his Name, at the feet of his Holiness.

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The *Spanish* Ministers, who by their frequent practice with those of *Rome*, were as ready at their Quirks, as the *Nuncio* himself answered him in his own way: "That his Holiness might as in duty bound, receive the Duke of *Braganza* as a private Person, but it would be a manifest Justice to admit of him as King of *Portugal*; besides, it had never been customary for those Dukes to send publick Embassys to the Sovereign Pontiffs, nor did they ever in that manner pay their Obedience to the Apostolick See. This being a Duty incumbent only upon true and lawful Kings, and Obedience having been already paid by King *Philip*, as rightful King of *Portugal*, no Embassy could be received from the Duke of *Braganza*. That a Robbery, as the Law teaches, did not deprive the Owner of the Possession of a thing stolen; for though in fact he be no longer in Possession, yet he retains it still in his mind, and for that reason, all Contracts made with the Thief are invalid for want of a lawful Possession, from whence it follow'd that the Duke of *Bragança*, having no lawful Possession, could not do any Act that supposes it.

The *Nuncio* replies, "That a Person may be said to be Master of a thing two ways, *First*, by Possession, *Secondly*, by Detention, that allowing the Duke of *Bragança* had not the Possession of *Portugal*, King *Philip* still possessing it in his mind, as his own by right, yet it could not be denied, but that the Duke of *Bragança* did detain the Kingdom, by reason of which Detention, the Pope was obliged, not only to receive, but encourage his Devotion to the Apostolick See, least during this Detention, the respect due to the Holy See might be lost, and a whole King-  
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dom be in danger of wavering in the Faith: The *Castilians* return, " That these were Metaphysical Speculations, that the Law saith, an unjust Pretension cannot be a ground for any Act of Justice, especially in this case when the acceptance of Obedience in the Form proposed, was to the end, that the Pope should give all Princes to understand, that a wrongful Detention was lawful Possession of a Kingdom that had been so unjustly seiz'd upon; since the publick Actions of the Popes were taken for Authentick and drawn into Precedent. Wherefore his Holiness should take care, least by this Action he authoriz'd Injustice, and made Contumacy and Rebellion a pattern of Christian Virtue.

The *Nuncio* would by no means admit that these Inconveniencies were to be charged upon the most holy mind of the Pope; " for, *First*, the Clause, *sine præjudicio Tertij*, left all claims of right good and valid; *Secondly*, his Holiness was ready to receive the Obedience of *Philip* himself as King of *Portugal*, whenever he should be in actual Possession; whereby his Holiness would manifest to the World, that he intended only Edification in Spirituals, and not the Destruction of Temporals. But the *Castillians* told him, " That the Pope might as he was bound, both edify in Spirituals, and preserve the Kingdom of *Portugal* to its lawful Sovereign at the same time. That in the present state of things, there were three sorts of People of the *Portuguese* Nation, and that the receiving of an Ambassador from *Portugal*, would manifestly turn to the prejudice of them all; *First*, the Rebellious and Obstinate, who would believe him to be their lawful King, whom Christ's Vicar should declare  
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“ for such, and thereby be confirm’d in their Re-  
“ bellion; *Secondly*, the Timorous and Wavering,  
“ who would go over to their sentiments, whom  
“ before they took for Rebels, arguing that a King  
“ receiv’d and approv’d of by the Pope, ought not  
“ to be rejected by any Christian; *Thirdly*, the  
“ Constant and Loyal that were now at King *Phi-*  
“ *lip’s* Court, who either drawn by their Love to  
“ their Country, or wearied out by the inconveni-  
“ cies they were under, might come to some despe-  
“ rate Resolution, so that by this Action of his  
“ Holiness, the Kingdom of *Portugal* might be put  
“ out of a possibility of being conquered by King  
“ *Philip*; wherefore to obviate these Inconvenien-  
“ cies, they thought it to be the duty of his Holi-  
“ ness, to thunder out his censures against the Duke  
“ of *Bragança*, to the end that the Rebels might  
“ be reclaim’d, the Timorous take courage, and  
“ the good Subjects confirm’d in their duty. The  
*Nuncio* thought, “ That Censures in this case would  
“ do no good, but turn to the prejudice both of the  
“ Pope and the King of *Spain*; of the Pope, be-  
“ cause his Apostolical Authority might be slighted,  
“ for the Duke of *Bregança* took himself to be ei-  
“ ther the lawful King, or the Usurper of *Portu-*  
“ *gal*; if the former, he could never value an un-  
“ just Excommunication, for what he had justify’d  
“ to his own Conscience, and it would have less  
“ effect upon him in case he took himself for an  
“ Usurper, it being plain that he would never re-  
“ nounce the Kingdom to the loss of his Life, and  
“ the ruin of his Family. Than an Excommunica-  
“ tion would be of no benefit to the King of *Spain*,  
“ for if the Duke, and the People of *Portugal*  
“ should despise and take no notice of it, as it was  
“ likely they would, the probable and almost ne-  
“ cessary



" cessary consequence, would be the introduction of  
 " Calvinism, or of some other Heresie, by reason  
 " of the Neighbourhood and Correspondence of  
 " that Kingdom with the *Northern Nations*, in  
 " which case the conquest of *Portugal* would be-  
 " come the most difficult, for all Sectaries being to  
 " be chastised not with ordinary Punishments, but  
 " according to the Rigor of the Canons, the *Portu-*  
 " *tugueses* seeing themselves branded with a perpe-  
 " tual mark of Ignominy, would grow desperate,  
 " and choose rather to die than in any case put  
 " themselves into the Power of King *Philip*. But  
 here the *Spanish* Ministers took him up short, and  
 told him, that these were Sophistical Subtilities,  
 and not fair Arguments, without vouchsafeing them  
 any further answer.

The *Nuncio* seeing that this way of arguing  
 would not serve the turn, betook himself to ano-  
 ther, quoting Precedents from the proceedings of  
 former Popes in the Cases of Princes, whose Titles  
 were disputable, and thereby demonstrated it to  
 have been constant practice of the Holy See, to ac-  
 knowledge such as were Kings *de facto* without  
 any regard to right; alledging to this purpose a  
 saying of Pope *Pius* the 2d. *Moris est sedis Apo-*  
*stolicæ eum Regem appellare qui Regnum tenet*, and  
 the practice of the same Pope, both in the Case of  
*Matthias Corvinus*, and the Emperor *Frederick* the  
 3d. contending about the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and  
 of *Ferdinand* and *Renè*, about the Kingdom of *Si-*  
*cily*, to which *Renè* pretending while *Ferdinand* was  
 in Possession, was put off by the Pope with this An-  
 swer; *Siquid juris competit ablatum est Ferdinando*  
*Regni Principes, Duces Comites, & Populares om-*  
*nes obediunt, eumque sibi Regem constitui expetive-*  
*runt*. But the *Nuncio* not content with one Ex-  
 ample,

ample, brings in that of Pope *Zachary*, who being consulted what account was to be made of the Kings of *France* (the later Kings of the *Merovingian* Race) they having the Name and Dignity, but others (the Mayres of the Palace) the Power; determined the Question with this Answer; *That he ought to be stiled King, and held for such who was found Reigning, and who as King had the supreme Authority of the Common-wealth in his hands.* Of *John* the 22d. who received the Ambassadors of *Robert Bruce*, he being in Possession of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. Of *Innocent* the 8th. who received in publick Consistory the Ambassadors of *Richard* the 3d. of *England*, as he did likewise those of *Henry* the 7th. when they came to pay Obedience to the Holy See; He shew'd likewise that the same thing had been done, for *Alfonso Henriquez* and *John* the 1st. Kings of *Portugal*, notwithstanding the great Oppolition and Power of the Kings of *Leon* and *Castille*, for *Henry* of *Castille* the Murtherer of his King and Brother *Don Pedro*, against the consent and right of *Constança Pedro's* Daughter, and for *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* to the Prejudice of *D. Joanna* the only Daughter of *Henry* the 4th.

These Instances were all home to the Point, supposing the King of *Portugal's* Title to be as bad as his Enemies would have it; for let him be a Traytor, Usurper, Tyrant, or what the *Spaniards* pleased, there had been as bad or worse acknowledged for lawful Kings, and highly cared for by the Holy See. But the *Spaniards* had another way to deal with the *Nuncio* than disputing; they offered indeed at something of an answer to all these Instances, affirming without the least grounds, that the greatest part of the Princes now mentioned, sent their Ambassadors, not to pay their Obedience,

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but to plead their Cause, and justify their Pretensions, and in that case granted it to be lawful for the Popes to receive them. But to admit of an Ambassador from *Dom John*, as King of *Portugal*, after that the Kings of *Castille* have been in Possession of that Kingdom for the space of 60 Years, and sworn to as lawful Sovereigns was, they said, a manifest injury to their cause. They thought that there was no account to be made of any thing done or said by *Pius* the 2<sup>d</sup>. because that Pope was guided only by his Interest, and varied in his Sentiments every day; and as for the Kings of *France* that were acknowledged by Pope *Zachary*, they must needs, say the *Spaniards* have been Rightful and Lawful Kings, since the Oracle of the Holy See had pronounced them for such, for otherwise this grand Absurdity would follow, that Popes were no better than Incendiaries, Instigators of Rebellion and Usurpation, and instead of promoting Equity and Virtue, gave encouragement to the most abominable Practices; and in conclusion, they told the *Nuncio* that the Pope had best consider well what was just and convenient, for otherwise they should take such Resolutions as might not be well pleasing to his Holiness, but to sweeten the menace a little, they added that however, they should always retain that most humble Devotion, which the Catholick Kings above all other Princes have ever born in mind, and testify'd by their Actions towards the Apostolical See.

Their meaning was understood well enough at *Rome*, and this Intimation of what they should do, gave a strange force to their Arguments, and so confirm'd the wavering Pope, that he remained ever after steady to their Interest. The *Portugueses* had apparently all the Right on their side, but the *Spaniards* were Masters of *Milan*, *Naples* and *Sicily*.

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From this time forward Pope *Innocent* turned a deaf Ear to all that could be said in Favour of King *John* of *Portugal*, and could never be brought to grant him that which was never deny'd to an Usurper. That Prince had his Agents continually soliciting for him at *Rome*, in his own Name, and in behalf of the Clergy, and of the three Estates of the Kingdom, but all to no purpose: The *French* made the most pressing Instances in his behalf, but the Pope did not mind them at that time; for *France* being embroil'd with intestine Dissentions, He was sure they could do him no harm. Great Court and Application was made to *Donna Olympia*, as we are told by the *Conde da Ericeyra*, who observes that she seldom used to fail in any Temporal Business that she undertook, alluding I suppose to a Saying to that purpose, which was current at that time in the Courts of *Popish* Princes, where upon any Disappointment of their Affairs at *Rome*, the *Nuncio's* were sure to be told, That, *if the Business had been solicited by Donna Olympia, it had never miscarried*: But on this occasion, *Donna Olympia* her self could do no good, for either she did not heartily espouse the King of *Portugal's* cause, or if she did, all her Artifices were ineffectual upon the obdurate Pontiff. All the answer that could be got from this and the former Pope, besides those frivolous Complaints before mention'd, ( for which satisfaction was still offered ) was, that the Pope as the common Father of Christendom, thought himself bound to carry it equally between *Castille* and *Portugal*, and not acknowledge or oblige one Son when it could not be done without offence to the other; but the *Portugueses* could not perswade themselves that in this case, He in any sort acted the part of a common Father, whilst to gratify the unreasonable Am-



bition of the one, he did not stick wholly to cast off the other, and to use him in a more barbarous manner than he could have done an Infidel. But in short the *Spaniards* were very rugged in their Threats, and that stood them in stead of Right and Merit; the *Portugueses* valuing themselves upon their blind Obedience to the Holy See kept within the terms of Respect, which instead of gaining ought upon those of *Rome*, gave encouragement to their Insolence.

Had King *John* but follow'd the *Spaniards* Example, or come to any vigorous Resolution, he had doubtless soon brought his Holiness to a compliance, or he might have had a fair opportunity to vindicate his Country's Liberty, in a yet more glorious manner, than he had done already by shaking off the *Spanish* Yoke. For we must know, that all these Applications to the Court of *Rome*, were not made to the end only that his Title might be acknowledged there, but in order to have the vacant Sees in his Dominions supplied with Bishops; for in a few years after the Revolution, there was but one Bishop remaining in *Portugal*, and he not Resident upon his Diocess, being obliged to attend the Court, and there was a like want of them in the *East* and *West-Indies*, in the *Madera* and *Cap Verde* Islands, and upon the Coasts of *Africa*; the *Portugueses* therefore laboured all they could to make his Holiness sensible of the miserable state of their Churches thus destitute of Pastors, petitioning for a supply, the King according to the Practice of his Ancestors, proposing the Persons for that end, and to remove all Objections, he agreed that his Nomination of the Bishops should be admitted with the Clause, *sine Præjudicio Tertij*; notwithstanding its being a clear Maxim in the *Ro-*

ta, and confirmed by the practice of the Roman Church, That the simple possession of an Inheritance, City or Territory, that has *Jus Patronatus* annexed to it, gives the right of Presentation to the Possessor; but neither the reason of the thing, nor the desolate condition of the Orphan Churches, could have any weight upon the obstinate Pope: He was more apprehensive of the *Spanish* Threats, than the loss of Millions of Souls, all that could be got from him was, that He would appoint Bishops for *Portugal*, on condition, that he might name them *de motu proprio*; he offered indeed another very strange Concession, which was, that the Bishops he chose of his own mere motion, should be the very same Persons that the King had named. But the *Portugueses* could not agree to this Proposal, for this among other Reasons, that the Popes might make it a Precedent, for assuming to themselves a Right of nominating Bishops in after times, which would prove a great grievance to the Nation, since the Benefices that were already at his Disposal, were generally the worst supply'd.

Things being thus at a stand, the *Gallicane* Church undertook the cause of her Sister of *Portugal*, and took the liberty to mind the Holy Father of his Duty in a Letter, written by the Prelates assembled in a Synod, which was presented in their Name by Cardinal *Francisco Barbarini*, but the Pope at that time had as little regard to the *French* Church, as he had to the *French* Court: The Clergy of that Kingdom sent their Agent to *Rome*, to take care of the concerns of the *Portuguese* Church as well as their own; the Bishops whom King *John* had nominated, sent their humble Petition to his Holiness, that they might be admitted to the Exercise of their Charge, and their



Petition was rejected with scorn; the Cardinals of the *French Faction* did all the good Offices they could, but to no purpose: *Este* signalized himself in a very particular manner on this occasion, the Pope taking notice that he loytered about the City more than became him, ordered him one day to his Diocess, saying, That it went against his Conscience to see him absent from it so long, the Cardinal who was Young and Resolute answered, *That his Holiness had a great deal of reason to be thus scrupulous, but being so much concerned as he was for one single Church, he ought not wholly to neglect so many as there were in Portugal unprovided of Bishops, and therefore he conjur'd him before God, and in the Name of the King of France, from whom he had Commission so to do, that he would speedily grant Bishops to that Kingdom.* The Pope not a little surpriz'd at so brisk an Attack, was going away without making any other reply than, saying, *I shall pluck the Cap from off that Boy's Head;* *Este* turns to him again, and crys, *If you do, I shall put on another of Iron,* and thereupon retires to his House, fills it with Armed Men, plants Guns at the Windows. But this being the Act of a young Man, was of no Consequence.

But had the *Portugueses* been so resolute in their own cause, there is no doubt but they had soon put an end to this trouble; nor did they want being set in a way to free themselves from all fear of ever having the like again. For seeing themselves cast off by the Pope in so unworthy a manner, they had recourse (as 'tis affirm'd in a Letter, or Remonstrance of the three Estates to the Pope) to the most celebrated Universities and Doctors in *Europe*, to know their Opinions concerning that course which was fittest for them to take in this Case, the  
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answers they received as they are set down in that Letter, are as follow.

Some were of Opinion, that the best way to bring the Pope to Reason, was to take care that no Money should go out of the Kingdom to *Rome* upon any account whatsoever, whether for Matrimonial Dispensations, or Renunciations of Benefices; that all beneficed *Portugueses* abroad, should be called home upon pain of having their Profits sequestred; that no Pensions be paid to any Persons residing at *Rome*, whether Subjects or Strangers, with other things which the Estates out of their great Respect to the Holy See conceal. Of this Advice, as they say, were some belonging to the Court of *Rome* it self.

Others would have had the King call a National Council, wherein the Clergy might elect a Patriarch, who should govern the Kingdom in Spirituals, with the Power to Institute and Consecrate Bishops, which belonged to Patriarchs according to the Ancient Canons.

Others thought that the Bishops nominated by the King, and proposed to the Pope, who had not rejected them by any express Act of denial, might immediately enter upon their Charge, and exercise the same, since the Pope neglected to confirm them in the ordinary way, and yet had no objection against them, for he had offered to confirm them *de motu proprio*.

A fourth was the opinion of a learned Fryar, who thought that in this case of necessity, they were obliged to have recourse to the way of choosing Bishops anciently practised and approved of by the Canons, and used in the Church as he asserted for a much longer time than any other Method, *viz.* For the Chapter of each Diocese to choose their



own Bishop, and that the Elect being approved of by the Clergy, People and King, and consecrated by other Bishops, the most ancient of the Order, in case of want supplying the place of a Metropolitan, might immediately enter upon his Charge without waiting for the Pope's confirmation, which in this case was not necessary, it being, saith the Author of this Advice, the truest and most certain Opinion, and follow'd by most Authors, that Bishops upon their Consecration receive their Authority immediately from God: This he affirm'd to be grounded upon the words of St. Paul in the 1st. Gal. where the Apostle saith, that he had receiv'd his Apostleship from God alone, and not from the other Apostles, no not from St. Peter the chief of them: *Paulus Apostolus non ab hominibus neque per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum*, and in the 2 Chap. *Mihi nihil contulerunt unt aliquid esse, nihil i.e. nullam Jurisdictionem, nullam Dignitatem, nullam Potestatem*. They that were of this Opinion said further, That it is clearly proved from Christ's words to the Apostles, *sicut me misit Pater in mundum & Ego vos mitto in illum*; whence say they, St. Cyprian and St. Cyril, gather that our Lord gave as much Power and Authority to his Apostles, when he sent them into the World to Preach, as he did to St. Peter when he said, *Quodcunque ligaveris super Terram erit ligatum & in celis, & quodcunque solveris super Terram erit solutum & in celis* (it should be *ligaveritis & solveritis*, the words being spoken to all the Apostles in the Plural *ἡμεῖς & ὑμεῖς*, Mat. 18. 18.) the reason is because the words are absolute, and will admit of no interpretation: from whence it was infer'd, that Bishops succeeding the Apostles in their ordinary Office, succeed them likewise in the ordinary Jurisdiction annexed to

to that Office; and since it cannot be denied, but that the Apostles received their Authority immediately from Christ, it must be acknowledged that Bishops upon their Consecration do so receive it likewise, and therefore have no need that any other should invest them with the Authority they are possess'd of already.

Two other Opinions were Printed and sent into *Portugal* upon this occasion, both concurring in one conclusion, though different ways were taken to it; that which both agreed in was, that *Portugal* might and was in duty bound, to proceed to the Consecration of the Bishops nominated by the King. One of the Authors of this Conclusion asserted, that according to the Divine appointment, the Right of Election was in the Clergy and People, after the same manner as it was practised in the Primitive Church, and a long time after; which Right, he said, was afterwards transferred to the Emperors and Princes, who had Authority in Ecclesiastical Affairs, in order to the good Government of the Common-wealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil matters, having that mutual Dependence upon each other, that they are inseparable: That the Popes have acquired the Right of naming Bishops, by the Tacit consent and liberality of Princes, and this was permitted the rather, because, Ecclesiastical Discipline was much slack'ned, partly by the remissness of Seculars, partly by their being taken up in Military Affairs. But in case the Pope should become guilty of the like failure, the same Right devolved again to the Princes, as given up and abandoned by the Pope. It was affirm'd likewise, that this Right had actually been put in practice on some occasions, even in these later times, particularly in *Castille*, where in the Year 1399. Bishops were chosen  
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and Consecrated without any Confirmation from the Pope; King *Henry* the 3<sup>d</sup>. during the great Schism, having renounced the Authority of *Benedict* the 13<sup>th</sup>. and committed the Administration of Ecclesiastical Affairs to the Archbishops and Bishops, willing them to make the same Provisions as had been used to come from the Pope.

Others who were for the same things in effect, asserted, That according to the ancient Canons, it belonged to the Prelates of each Kingdom to institute and consecrate Bishops, before the Popes had reserv'd that Power to themselves, and undertook to prove that the same thing ought *de Jure Divino*, to be done in the present Case: To have Bishops in the Church was, they said, *de Jure Divino & Naturali*, since they are Shepherds of the Souls which cannot all be taken care of by the Pope, but their being to be confirm'd by the Pope before their Consecration, is only *de Jure Humano*, the Obligation whereof ceases, not only in cases of *extreme* necessity, but in that which is called *Gravissima*. That it could not be denied, but the Necessity of the Churches of *Portugal* for Bishops at that time was *Gravissima*, and that of the Dominions thereof in other parts of the World *Extreme*.

This grand *Arcanum* of the Papal Empire, that Bishops may be made out of *Rome*, and without the Pope's concurrence, being thus happily discovered, the *Portugueses* were now put in a fair way to restore the Ancient Discipline to their Church, and with it prosperity to their Nation, it being evident that the Miseries they labour under, as well as the horrible Corruptions in their Religion, are no other than the necessary Effects of the Papal Usurpation and Tyranny; and it appears that King  
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*John* did for some time, approve of the good Advice that had been given him, at least that he would have it thought so at *Rome*, for he ordered his Agent there, to get a Remonstrance to be put into the Pope's hands, wherein among other things he declares; *That he had been assured by very learned Men, that when access and recourse to the Holy See could not be had, it belonged to the Chapters to choose their Bishops upon his Nomination, according as it had formerly been practised in Spain, and was still observed in some places, that his Holiness had no reason to be dissatisfied, if he took up with this Resolution, after he had suffered himself to be so much slighted, while he had the Remedy in his own hands; that if his Holiness were finally resolved to prefer the Interests of Castille to his just Rights, he for his part would justify himself before all Christian Princes, so that the blame of what followed should never be laid on him.*

Had the King proceeded so far as to convince the Pope that he was in earnest, he had brought him no doubt to his own terms, or else might have done that, for which his Posterity and Country would have the greatest cause to bless his Memory, that is, have shaken off that intolerable Yoke, under which they are now sinking. The very mention of having Bishops chosen by the Chapters upon the King's Nomination, put *Innocent* into a terrible Fright; he had nothing to say against the practice, or the necessity of it in the present case. But here the *Inquisition* of *Portugal* interpos'd its Authority, and delivered the Pope from the Agony he was in, by condemning the two last Opinions, and that for a reason which comprehends the rest; they declaring the Pope as Universal Head of the Roman Church, to have all Monarchical Power, and to be the

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*Fountain of all Spiritual Jurisdiction, which cannot be derived to Ecclesiastical Ministers without his express Concession and Will.* This peremptory sentence of the *Inquisition*, put a stop to all further Proceedings in this Affair: The Pope reassumed new Courage, and continued as Insolent as ever, after the King's Declaration had brought him to his Wits-end; for as the *Conde da Ericeyra* in his *Portugal Restaurado* tells the World, his Holiness did not stick to declare, That the *Holy Office* had delivered him out of the greatest Perplexity, by cutting a knot, which of himself he durst not meddle with: The same noble Author tell us, That the King desisted from his Resolution, for no other reason, but because the *Inquisition* did not approve of it, while there were, as he saith, a great number of learned Men, both within and without the Kingdom, ready to justify and maintain it; so that according to the *Conde*, it is to the *Inquisitors*, that the *Portugueses* owe the continuance of their Bondage, and there is no question, but they did their utmost to obstruct the King's Design (supposing that he had a real intention to shake off the Roman Yoke;) for should the Church of *Portugal* recover her Liberty, and have her Bishops restored to their just Authority, the *Holy Office* must fall of course, were the design of that Office no other than is pretended, it is at best but an encroachment upon the Episcopal Jurisdiction; for to the Bishops it belongs of right to give Judgment in matters of Religion, and superintend the Discipline of the Church, and they all along exercised this Jurisdiction which they derive through the Apostles from *Christ* with that Gentleness, Tenderness and Charity, as became the true Fathers of the Church, till the Popes began to usurp the whole Power to themselves, or impart it

it to Creatures of their own; and among the rest, to these Wolves of *Inquisitors*, whom in the height of their Tyranny, they let loose upon the Church to dispossess the Shepherds and ravage the Flock; but should an end be put to the Papal Usurpations, there would be no further occasion for *Inquisitors*, and therefore it had been no wonder, if of their own heads they made this desperate Effort to preserve their Master and themselves. But in Truth, had King *John* been fully bent to break with *Rome*, it is much to be question'd, whether all the Power of the *Inquisition*, as great as it is suppos'd to be, could have frustrated his design; for in reality, this *Tribunal* since its last establishment in *Portugal*, hath had its chief support from the Kings, who on several occasions have maintain'd it in spite of the Court of *Rome* it self. Had the King withdrawn his Protection, it is not unlikely but the Bishops of themselves, might have made their Party good: For the People doubtless would prefer their Government to that of the *Inquisitors*, as chusing rather to be under the Discipline of a Father, than in the hands of those barbarous Executioners. Besides it was an easie matter for the King to hinder the *Inquisitors* from giving him any trouble, some of the chief of them ow'd their lives to his Mercy; the *Inquisitor* General for one, who stood convicted as a Principal of the most horrible Treason that ever Traitor was charg'd with, it was for no less a Crime, than a design to murder the King, fire the City, and betray his Country to the *Spaniards*. It is said, that in order to the Execution of this Treason, the Holy House had been fill'd with Arms, and that which made the Plot the more remarkable, the undermanagers of it were some of the leading Men among the *New Christians*, against whom



whom the *Inquisition* was erected, and upon whom the *Inquisitors* for the most part exercise their Barbarities, and thereby gain what favour they have with the People; for the rest of the *Portuguses* bear a mortal hatred against those among them that go by the Name of *New Christians*, whom these Impostors represent as *Jews* in their hearts, pretending that their Jewish blood makes them such whether they will or no. But on this occasion it was observed, That the *Inquisition* and the *Synagogue* were of accord together to destroy their Country, and it is very likely that the King, had he pleased, might have rendered the one as odious to the people as the other was. But he took other measures, and though several Noble Men of the first Quality were Executed for this Plot, yet the *Inquisitor* General was spared for fear of violating the Ecclesiastical Immunities; yet it was as much as His Majesty could do to preserve him, and some others of the Conspirators from being torn to pieces by the Rabble.

For these reasons I am perswaded, that some other considerations might concur with the authority of the *Inquisition*, to withhold the King from withdrawing his Obedience from the Pope, what they were I shall not pretend to guess at. It is certain that this Prince was so ill advised, that neglecting the Counsels of Wise and Learned Men, he would never make use of any other remedy but Supplications, and most humble submissions to his Holiness, and he was ever after despised and slighted at *Rome* accordingly. For this great Deference of his to the Holy See, made those he had to deal with there, presume the more upon his Patience, and reject with the greater contempt all the Petitions that were offered up in his behalf.

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The *Portugueses* do not use to grow tame under Indignities, one would think therefore that Nation should begin to resent this barbarous Usage, of their King and themselves: And its true, they shew'd themselves to be not altogether insensible on this occasion; for in the Year 1653. six years after the King's Remonstrance had been given to the Pope, the three Estates of the Realm publish a kind of Manifest, Entituled, *The Bleatings [Baldos] of the Churches of Portugal, after the Sovereign Pastor the Pope*; wherein they give a most lamentable account of their Grievances, and how rigorously the Holy Father had dealt with them, and to make their Patience appear the more meritorious, they let his Holiness understand, that they might have remedied themselves if they had a mind to it, setting forth at large the opinions of the Learned on their Case, and the reasons they were grounded on, which yet instead of making a right use of them, they set themselves after their manner to confute, and afterwards enter'd a solemn *Protest*, which since it contains the substance of their answers to the advice their Friends had given them; I shall here set down, that the World may see, upon what solid grounds the three Estates of a Kingdom thought fit to intail the most intolerable Yoke of Bondage upon themselves and their Posterity.

They declare, *That they hold it for an infallible Truth, that the Pope as he is Christ's Vicar on Earth, Universal Pastor of the Church, and the lawful Successor of St. Peter, is the Sovereign Monarch of the Church; all the Authority and Power of other Ministers being derived wholly from him, which he may suspend and limit in what form and manner he thinks convenient, it being unlawful for any other Potentate*



*tate to intermeddle with his Government, secular Princes having nothing to do in the Affairs belonging to the Church, any further than contributing to her Defence and Prosperity.*

*That though various methods have been used for the Election and Confirmation of Bishops, yet it is an undoubted Truth, that it hath always been with the exprefs, or at least the Tacit Approbation of the Pope, who has appointed and consented to those several ways, according to the different circumstances of the Times, nor hath it been ever proved, say they, that there were Bishops at any time without this confirmation. Particularly they confess, and hold for certain, that in the Primitive Church, after the Apostles times, this Power returned to and remained in the Pope: That if Bishops were afterwards chosen by the Clergy and People, it was by the Pope's Permission; if secular Princes in those times intermeddled in these Elections, either by concession from the Pope, or by their own Authority with an Usurpative Right; yet they had never any true Right of their own to do it, and for this reason, the Apostles in the very beginning of the Church, forbade them to concern themselves in these matters, and if any Princes pretended to it, the Popes severely censured and checked them for it, and they coming to understand from whence they had this Right, were brought at last to lay it aside, and by this means it came to pass that no Respect was had to Princes, or the consent of the People, but the Power of Elections remained by the Pope's Authority in the Clergy and Fryars of the Diocess, and at last in the Chapters alone: And thus it continued to the Pontificate of Boniface the 8th. and Clement the 5th. who began to reserve the Power of instituting Bishops to themselves in some Cases, and after that, Innocent the 4th. by a Rule in Chancery*

cery reserved it wholly to the Apostolical See.

So that, say they, This Prerogative and Right to create Bishops was always in the Pope as 'tis at present; they acknowledge indeed that even after the Rule in Chancery came to be in force, many Princes continued to nominate Bishops for their own Kingdoms and Dominions; but this was by Concession from the Pope, or upon Presumption of a Privilege arising by Custom approv'd of by the Apostolical See. But that it was in the Pope's breast to receive or reject their Nomination, which did no more than capacitate the Person named to procure the Pope's Confirmation, and sue out the Apostolical Bulls.

It is likewise, say they, An undoubted Truth, that the Power of Election which hath formerly been in the Chapter, is now wholly extinguished by means of the Reservation made by the Rule in Chancery; so that at this time, the Pope's Creation or Institution of Bishops, cannot properly be called a Confirmation, because Confirmation supposeth a preceding Election, but Elections are now wholly abolished, by reason and virtue of the aforesaid Rule in Chancery; and lastly, they hold for certain, that notwithstanding there was a time when Patriarchs, Metropolitans, and National Councils had power to confirm Bishops, they have now no such Power, nor can they exercise it in any case, since they enjoy'd it only by the Pope's permission, and while there was place for Confirmation, before Elections were abolished, when the Power to appoint Bishops had not been yet reserved by the Pope to himself, viz. by the aforesaid Rule in Chancery.

Had an Agent from Rome, or an Inquisitor argued after this manner, it had been no wonder, since daily experience shows how far Interest and Passion will blind a Man's Reason, and what silly

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Arguments shall serve the turn for want of better, when one is prepossess'd with hopes of some vast Advantage by gaining the cause; but for the three Estates of a Nation, after what had been demonstrated to them from Scripture and Fathers, from the constant Tradition and uniform practice of the Catholick Church, thus to renounce their Sense and Reason, in order only to enslave themselves when Liberty was offer'd them, is such a Prodigy, that I believe no History can furnish us with a like Instance. Here we have People exposing their Church and Nation to ruin, because a Negative was never proved, it having never been demonstrated to them, that Popes did not Tacitly consent to the Election of Bishops, in which for so many Ages together, they had nothing at all to do, no more than a King of *France* has to do in the choice of a King of *Poland*; and would the *Poles* think we be content to abandon their Country to the mischiefs of an *Interregnum*, and submit their Necks to the Yoke of a Foreign Tyrant, because it can never be made out, that their Kings have not been made by his Tacit Consent, but when I see People laying so much stress upon the Tacit Consent of the Popes, for my part, I do not at all wonder that they ascribe so much virtue to a Rule in the Pope's Chancery, that it shall be able to destroy the whole Hierarchy, and turn into an Arbitrary lawless Tyranny, that most Regular and Beautiful frame of Government, which hath obtain'd in the Church ever since the Apostles days. However, these Reasons, such as they were, satisfi'd the three Estates of *Portugal*, so that instead of helping themselves as they might and ought, they took up with a Resolution to throw themselves wholly at the Holy Father's Mercy, and in conclusion of their *Bleatings*, declar'd,  
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That they would wrestle with Christ's Vicar, the Roman Angel, the Figure of God on Earth, exerting all the vigour that their love and necessity inspired them with, till they got from him his Blessing, and would never let go their hold till his Apostolical Hand was upon them, and till he offered his most Holy Feet to their Mouths. The Pope finding them to be thus resolv'd, thought he was sure enough of them, and therefore let 'em Bleat and Bray too as they pleased for him; for his part he would trouble his Head no more about them, all his concern was how to oblige and humour the boisterous Spaniards, who by their rugged behaviour, were ever and anon, threatening him into a Compliance, with their unjust and unreasonable Pretensions, He knew not what mischief they might do him. While the Portugueses took care to satisfy Him that he had nothing to fear from them, and I do not find, but that they sent in their Money in the usual course, so that he lost but little excepting what was to be got by the Bishop's Bulls, which yet as the Spaniards would persuade him, was like to come speedily in all in a lump, they feeding him all along with hopes, that they should make a quick dispatch of the War. In this state did the Affairs of Portugal at Rome, continue for part of Urban the 8th's Pontificat, all Innocent the 10th's, and Alexander the 7th's, and till the latter end of Clement the 9th's, and during the whole Reigns of this King's Father and Brother; but upon Dom Pedro's coming to the Government, the Spaniards having made Peace with Portugal, and acknowledg'd the King's Title, left his Holiness at Liberty to do so likewise.

And now Portugal having no such need as before of the Pope's Protection or Favour, and being more



at Liberty to make Returns of the ill usage it had receiv'd; the Blessings of *Rome* began to shour down upon that favourite Kingdom without measure. *Clement* the 9th. had a happy Opportunity before he died, to signalize his Fatherly Tenderness, or rather indulgence towards his present Majesty, and make full amends for all the Rigour used by former Popes towards his Father and Brother; for a little before the conclusion of the Peace, *Alfonso* was deposed in the manner as hath been related, and *Dom Pedro* posselt of his Throne, and a little after of his Bed, by marrying the Queen, the King his Brother still living, and here was a large Field for the Apostolical Graces: For now it was not only the King's Title that was to be acknowledged, but the Prince his Right to his Brother's Wife and Kingdom, and his Highness found in the Pope all the easiness he could desire. This Prince did but mention in a Letter written on another occasion, his design of sending an Ambassador to pay his Obedience, and his Holiness returns answer, *That his Ambassador upon his coming to Rome, should as he thought, but just meet with a kind and honourable Reception;* no scruple was made about the Prince's Right of sending one, no enquiry into the manner of his taking upon him the Government, nor so much as mention made of the Clause, *sine Præjudicio Tertij*: How different was this usage from what his Father met with? King *John* had an undoubted Right to the Crown, and the same was manifest to the World; yet his Ministers were called to account at *Rome*, to show the grounds of their Master's Title, whereas the Reasons for deposing King *Alfonso*, and placing *Dom Pedro* in the Throne, whatever they were, were not as yet well known to the Publick; and yet after all, King *John* was treated like

like a Traitor and a Robber, and *it was but just*, that *Dom Pedro's* Ambassador upon the first intimation of his coming, *should meet with a kind and honourable Reception at Rome*. The World is not to be informed now, what work they used to make at *Rome*, in Causes of Divorce, especially, between Royal Parties; and one would think his Holiness might have taken some time to consider of it, before he gave way to a Marriage, which I believe never had a Precedent in the Christian World. But here we have an instance of a Queens casting off her Husband without the least Difficulty, and both that, and her Marriage, with her living Husband's Brother, confirm'd by his Holiness, with as much Facility, as if these were things done every day of course; so that it cannot be denied, but the submissive Compliance of this Pope, with the Will and Pleasure of the *Portuguese* Court now in the time of its Prosperity, did equal at least, if not exceed the insolence of his Predecessors towards that Nation in its distress. It is certain, that *Clement* did not a little value himself upon his having thus far stretch'd the plenitude of his Power in *Dom Pedro's* Favour, he thought he had done enough to atone for all Offences, and to inspire this Prince with as great Devotion towards the Holy See, as any of his Predecessors have had before him, *Certainly* (saith he to him in his Letter on this occasion) *Certainly we have labour'd to do you all the Favour in the present Cause that the sacred Canons will permit, and we receive the greatest content upon finding You so well pleased with this Pontifical Kindness. But in Truth, the thanks you give with so much Piety and Affection, are no more than are due, the thing it self consider'd; so that we with Justice, require that you acknowledge your self in-*



debted for it to the Goodness of the Holy See, and you will perfectly comply with this Obligation, if you go on to show (as truly you do) on all occasions a greater concern and affection for whatsoever hath Relation to the Holy See, and the Catholick Religion, imitating herein the Ancient Devotion of the Portuguese Princes, who placed their Glory in their Obedience to the same See.

But *Clement* the 9th's Pontificate lasted not long enough to give him time to bestow all the Favors that were designed for *Portugal*, the Confirmation of the Bishops being reserved for his Successor *Clement* the 10th. for that was not done till 1670. In 1671. to oblige the new Princess (before Queen) of *Portugal*, the Purple was bestowed upon the Bishop of *Laon* her Kinsman, better known since by the Title of Cardinal *d'Estrees*, He being advanced at the Nomination of the Crown of *Portugal*, and to enhance the Favour by making it particular; the Great *Sobieski* had the like denied him, when he interceded for the Bishop of *Marseilles*, though he pretended to the disposal of a Cap, as a Right enjoyed by his Predecessors upon their coming to the Crown, but he was denied upon pretence, that the Person named was none of his Subject, so that Cardinal *d'Estrees* owed his Promotion purely to his being a Kinsman to the Princess of *Portugal*. *Innocent* the 11th. Successor to *Clement* the 10th. after having been baffled in the Business of the *Inquisition*, at his grand Promotion could not forget the Merits of the Portuguese Court, and a Cap was bestowed upon Dom *Verissimo de Alemcastro*, the Person that had been set on by the Court to put his Holiness at Defiance; and after that Cardinal's Death, another was sent by *Innocent* the 12th. to the Archbishop of *Lisbon*, in consideration, I suppose,

pose, of the many Contrasts he hath had with the *Nuncio's*; so that his *Portuguese* Majesty seems now to be in Possession of a Right to dispose of a Cap, as well as his *Catholick* or his most *Christian* Majesty, and the Ministers here having resented it, that the *Nunciature* at this Court hath not been an immediate step to the *Cardinalat*, as it is in those of *France* and *Spain*; his present Holiness has equal'd the King of *Portugal* to them in this particular, likewise by advancing the late *Nuncio Cornaro* to the Purple at the same time, as he did the Archbishop at the Promotion which was made for them two only.

So that by this time the Court of *Portugal* seems to have discovered the secret of gaining Favours at *Rome*, and indeed they appear to be somewhat sensible, that it must be a quite different method from that formerly used, that will procure the Holy Fathers Esteem, and work him into a Compliance: They begin to tast and relish much the *French* Maxims, thinking belike that there can be no better Pattern for *the most Obedient Son of the Church* to follow, than that of his *Eldest Brother*; insomuch, that I find it in a Memoir said to have been drawn up for the Instruction of a *Nuncio*, laid down as not the least necessary, if not one of the hardest parts of his Task to beat out of the Ministers heads, their fond admiration of the *French* King, and the opinion they have taken up of his infallible Maxims with respect to *Rome*.

But the Ministers at present do not content themselves with admiring that Great Monarch, they have made several attempts to copy after him; its true, they follow him as yet at a very great Distance, but they may mend their Pace in time. I have not heard that they have formally annulled



the grant of *John* the 2d. by which the Pope's Bulls are free from a Revision in *Portugal*, and which seems to be the very Basis of his absolute Power in the Kingdom, yet by what the Marquess of *Alegrete* saith in his History of that King, it appears that they are not wanting who call in Question the validity of the Grant, though his Lordship speaking there in Quality of an Historian, leaves the matter to be disputed by the Lawyers; but as a Minister of State, he does that which in effect amounts almost to as much, for upon a *Nuncio's* arrival, his Patent of *Legat* is call'd for in order to be Examined by the King's Council, and it hath been detain'd for above six Weeks together, and at the restoring of it, the *Nuncio* hath been told with an Air of Authority, That *the King is not well pleased with the Ample Powers contained in that Patent, and expects that the Nuncio do not exercise it to the full, but keep himself within Bounds*, and the *Nuncio's* under this Reign have had the Discretion not to exert the utmost of their Authority, but it mortifies them that the Court would have it thought, that they oblige them to this Moderation, whereas they would fain seem to use it of themselves.

But there is one thing in difference between the two Courts, which his Holiness lays much to Heart, and by his Good-will is never like to desist from his Pretentions, it being an affair which, as all the World agrees by this time, is of the last Importance at *Rome*, for in truth it is a Money Business: His Majesty hath at several times thought fit to raise the value of the Corn, so that the same Pieces are now reckon'd at a third, more than they were at the beginning of his Reign. Now his Holiness thinks it but reasonable, that

that the summs payable to his Bankers at *Lisbon*, should be augmented in the same Proportion, but the Ministers of this Court are of another Opinion, and seem resolved never to be convinced of their Error; the *Nuncio's* for some years have been labouring with all their might to undeceive them. Cardinal *Cornaro* when he was just upon his departure, press'd the matter home to them, but all to no purpose; he left them as obstinate to Conviction as he found them, and it seems they will not be brought to understand otherwise, but that the same Piece that before went but for two *Testons*, is now worth three in the Payments made to his Holiness. Now since it is not imaginable, that the Court of *Rome* can be easily brought to desist from a pretension of this kind, this Business may its feared sometime or other, disconcert the good Harmony that is between the two Courts.

But there are other instances to show, that the *Portuguese* Ministers do not make it their Business to manage his Holiness; they are grown so hardy of late years, that they will not stick upon occasion to break in upon the Ecclesiastical Immunities, insomuch, that in this Reign, a Convent is not near so safe a shelter for Villains as it was formerly; the Civil Powers assuming to themselves a liberty to judge what Crimes have the benefit of Sanctuary, and in case they think the Crimes to be very heinous indeed, the King's Officers shall make nothing to break into a Monastery and fetch the Criminal out by force, in order to the Execution of Justice. I confess they are still somewhat tender in this Point, and if it shall be made appear, that they are mistaken in the nature of the offence, the Offender shall be returned again. Being once at a certain place that hath the Privilege  
of



of an *Asylum*, one of my acquaintance there coming home told me, that he had been to wait on the late Cardinal *de Alemcastro*, to engage him as Protector of the Society, to solicit the restoring of a Person whom the Officers had violently taken out of the House, I asked what the Man's Crime was, and he told me, *it was only for killing his Wife*, and upon further enquiry, I was informed that he had not done it out of Jealousy, for in that case he had been acquitted of course; but having married an old Woman, he grew weary of her, and enticing her one day to a Country House, he took occasion to cut her Throat, and going about his Business, he heard a Servant, who by chance found the Woman weltring in her Blood, crying out that *her Mistress was a dying*, he hearing that she was only a *dying*, whom he had left for *dead*, return'd and dispatcht her out-right, and then betook himself to Sanctuary, and it was found upon second thoughts, that his Crime was not of so deep a dye, as to deprive him of the benefit thereof, and so he was return'd again, and after some time, he sued out his *Carta de Seguro*.

But the violation of their Sanctuary is not the only Grievance that the Fryars, and consequently the *Nuncio* have to complain of, their Immunities have been attempted in a yet more sensible part, it being pretended that their Estates shall be liable to the King's Duties; several advances have been made towards bringing this about, and great violence used as 'tis pretended in the now mention'd Memoir, where I find this reckon'd among other things, wherein the Court is resolved to Copy after his most *Christian Majesty*.

This change of Conduct has as experience demonstrates, contributed not a little to raise the credit

dit of *Portugal* with the Court of *Rome*; but the Treasure of the Nation is still flowing thither in so many Currents, that it will be soon exhausted, if a speedy stop be not put thereto, so that the King must of necessity come to a more vigorous Resolution, than has been yet taken; there is no doubt but that whensoever he shall attempt to save his Country, he will meet with all the opposition that *Rome* and its Creatures can raise against him. But he may turn a deaf Ear to their Clamours, the Nation by this time is sufficiently sensible of its approaching Ruin, and begins to see from what Quarter it is coming upon them, and there is all reason to hope that His Majesty, if he be not wanting to himself may carry his Point, and in the end, see himself as much respected and rever'd at *Rome*, as any Crown'd Head in Christendom.

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OF THE  
INTERESTS  
OF  
PORTUGAL,  
With Relation to  
SPAIN.

N<sup>E</sup>xt to the Court of *Rome*, that of *Madrid* seems at present to be in greatest consideration at *Lisbon*, on account both of the near Neighbourhood of the two Kingdoms, and of his *Portuguese* Majesty's Pretensions to the Succession of *Spain*. All former Animosities seem now to be utterly forgotten, and a sincere Friendship and close Correspondence is maintain'd between the two Courts, which as we may well suppose, the Sister Queens have not been wanting to preserve and cultivate; the King of *Portugal* no doubt leaves nothing unattempted on his part, to procure the goodwill of the *Spanish* Court, considering the melancholy Prospect he hath before him in the manifest Ruin of his numerous Family, should the Succession

cession be dispos'd of to his disadvantage, and possibly there may not be wanting among the *Spanish* Grandees, who think is to be for their Countrys Interests and their own that his Pretensions should succeed. But the good Correspondence that is now between the two Courts, seems to be of a latter date than the conclusion of the Peace in 1668. they who then laboured all they could to hinder them from coming to an Agreement, have not been wanting in their Endeavours to embroil them since; and it was certainly none of their fault, that these two Kings have never come to a Rupture, their Artifices having so far prevail'd, that in the year 1681. a day was fixed on the *Portuguese* side for the Declaration of a War, the Difference arose upon this Occasion.

The Governour of the *Rio de Janeiro* in *Brazil*, had in the year 1680. Peopled and Fortified a Colony of *Portugueses* on the *North*-side of the *Rio da Prata*, over against the Isle of *St. Gabriel*, supposing it to be within the bounds of the *Portuguese* Dominions, according to the famous Repartition of the whole World made by Pope *Alexander* the 6th. and his Successors between the two Crowns; but the Governour of *Buenos Aires* not liking the Neighbourhood of the *Portugueses*, and pretending that both sides of the River, with the Isles therein, and parts adjacent, had fall'n to the share of the *Spanish* Crown; got together a body of *Indians*, as well as *Spaniards*, and upon the 6th. of *August* the same year, fell upon the new Planters, killing several of them, and taking Prisoners the Governour with all that were in Arms, seizing likewise upon the Artillery, Ammunitions, &c. When the news of this Action came to *Europe*, they whose Interest it was to have the two Nations



go together by the ears, made their advantage of it, and blew the Coals into such a flame, that the Prince Regent of *Portugal* ordered home his Ambassador from *Madrid*, commanding him to make this Protest at his Departure; *That if within the space of twenty days reckoning, that for one on which the Protest was made, the Spaniards did not make full Reparation for this Insult, it should be understood that a War was declared, without any other Formality.* Such Language as this having been unusual till of late years between Crown'd Heads, and not heard of even in our times, but from one single Court, we may well guess from whence it came, and that the Prince Regent did not of himself put it into his Ambassador's Mouth; for *Portugal* being at that time as little perhaps in a condition to bear the Expences of a War as *Spain* itself, it is not likely that the Prince would talk at that rate, unless he were made believe that he had some other Power besides his own to back his Threats withal. They at *Madrid* at least seem'd to be of this Opinion, for they presently took the Alarm, insomuch, that in stead of losing time in Consultation, according to their ordinary Custom, they with all the hast imaginable, sent the Duke of *Giovinnazzo* away post to *Lisbon*, with full power to give the Regent satisfaction.

But had they spent never so much time in deliberation, they could not have pitch'd upon a fitter Person, either for spoiling a *French* Design, or managing the *Portuguese* Court, for matters of this sort had been the Dukes business for many years; he had served the Crown of *Spain* with great Dexterity, and success in affairs of the greatest Importance, while he was Ambassador Resident at *Turin*, where he broke all the measures the

*French*

*French* had taken to engage *Madam Royal* then Regent of *Savoy* in their Interests, and by his secret Practices so countermined their designs upon *Casal*; that he kept the Place from being delivered up to them for some years, after the bargain had been made with the Duke of *Mantua*, the preservation of which place was so entirely ascribed to him, that when he left *Turin*, it became the common talk of *Europe*, that *Casal* was infallibly lost: His Conduct at *Turin* made him esteem'd at *Madrid* for the ablest Person to deal with the *French* Ministers, and for that reason he was in the beginning of the year 1680. sent Ambassador into *France*, but for the same Reason, King *Louis* thought him the most improper for that Court; his Ministers had it seems such a dread of the Man, that they put their Master upon an Action that will not be reckon'd among the Glories of his Reign; for after the Duke had arrived at *Paris*, and continued there for five Months, he was obliged to return as he came, without having been admitted to Audience, the King declaring, That if he did not leave the Kingdom, he would force him away by Violence, an Indignity never before put upon the Representative of a Crown'd Head; yet such as *Spain* in its low condition was forced to digest, but the Duke had now a fair opportunity to mortify the *French* in his turn, by defeating their design upon *Spain* and *Portugal*.

Upon his Arrival at *Lisbon*, Prince *Peter* more generous than to insult over an yielding Adversary, shew'd by his Proceedings, that his own inclinations had not prompted him to make his advantage of his Neighbour's weakness; for instead of prescribing Laws to the *Spaniards*, who 'tis thought would at this juncture have submitted to any terms  
of



of Accommodation, he was content to treat with them upon the Square, and appointed the Duke of Cadaval, and other Commissioners, to confer with the Duke of *Giovinazzo*, who soon brought them to his own terms by an Address peculiar to himself, which was by turning things into Ridicule and Ral-lying them into an Agreement; the Prince though sufficiently sensible that what they had concluded upon was much to his disadvantage, yet suffer'd himself to be perswaded by the Duke to confirm the Treaty; it may be supposed that he began by this time to Relent, and that he shew'd himself more easy to make some amends to the *Spaniards* for their hard usage. It is said indeed that the Duke had a particular Talent to accommodate himself to the Humours of those he had to deal with, and by that means to gain upon the affections of this Prince, who was not to be imposed upon as his Ministers were, for the Duke's Jests were not like to take with him, and therefore in his addresses to his Highness, he gave another turn to his Discourse, Haranguing him on all occasions upon his admirable Prudence, and greatness of Mind, and Praises, having this common with Reproaches, that they seldom fail of their effect when there is ground for them; the Prince Regent is reported to have told those about him, after an Audience given to the Duke, *That he knew very well that the fine things this Man had said, tended only to deceive him, who however had got the secret to please him, and therefore he did not know how to deny him any thing.*

The Agreement made at this time, had the Title of a *Provisional Treaty*, because it did not determine the Right on either side, for that was to be done at a more convenient Season. It was so contriv'd,

triv'd, that by the Articles one would think it was design'd, to give the *Portugueses* some satisfaction in appearance, and all the real advantage to the *Spaniards*. It was agreed, that by Order from the King of *Spain*, the Governour of *Buenos Aires* should be punished according as the manner of his Proceedings had deserved; which Order the Duke of *Giovinazzo* delivered afterwards to the Prince Regent, who sent it to his Minister at *Madrid*, with a Command to intercede in his Name with the *Catholick* King, that the Execution of it might be suspended. All Arms, Artillery, &c. with whatever else had been taken from the Colony were to be restor'd, and the Planters suffer'd to return, and if any were wanting, as many others to settle there in their room. But then they were not to fortifie themselves, nor so much as build Houses of any durable Matter, nor were they to be supplied with fresh Men, though in never so small a Number, nor have any sort of Intercourse or Commerce with the *Indians*, under Obedience to the *Spaniards*. Whereas the *Spaniards* were to have the same use of the River, the Isles thereof, and Territories adjacent as they had before, so that had this *Provisional Treaty* continued in force, the *Portuguese* Colony must necessarily in a very short time have fall'n away to nothing, and the *Spaniards* remain confirm'd in the Possession of a Country, to which their Title was at best but Dubious. It was indeed agreed at the same time, that Commissioners on both sides should meet finally to determine this Affair, and that in case Matters could not be adjusted by them, it should be referr'd to the Pope's Arbitration; but considering how seldom Conferences of this kind come to any Issue, and how easy it is for the *Spaniards* to make proceedings at *Rome* to go heavily



on, one would think they had small cause to fear that any thing in this Article should deprive them of the Advantage they had got by the rest; and if things succeeded not afterwards to their minds, it was perhaps, because, they could not have a Duke of *Giovinazzo* always at *Lisbon*.

— The Composition of this Difference made way for a more solid and lasting Friendship than hath been usual between these, or perhaps any other bordering Nations; that hostile Disposition which in former Ages, was always observ'd in these towards each other, and had been exasperated by a late War of 27 years continuance, seem'd now to be worn away on a suddain, and they began to familiarise themselves with each other; for the Duke of *Giovinazzo*, while he so happily acquitted himself to his Master's satisfaction in a Negotiation, that was thought to be attended with insuperable Difficulties, manag'd Matters, so that he was no less pleasing to the *Portuguese* Court, then to that of *Madrid*, rendering himself acceptable to all, and gaining the Universal Esteem of the Prince, Nobility and People; and as he was highly carress'd during his stay at *Lisbon*, he was as much regretted at his Departure.

There is no doubt but the Marriage of the Q. of *Portugal's* Sister to the King of *Spain*, contributed not a little to perfect the Harmony that is at present between the two Crowns, and perhaps her want of Children much more, for it being now apparent to the World, that King *Peter* hath enter'd his Name among the Candidates for the *Spanish* Crown, it is natural to suppose that his endeavours are not wanting to keep up the good Correspondence; yet were we to judge of the inclinations of the *Spanish* Court, from the most obliging Carriage of the *Marquis de Castel dos Rios*, their late Minister at *Lisbon*,



*Lisbon*, one would think that *Spain* expected to reap all the advantage from the good amity; little would one guess from the Conduct of this Minister, that the King of *Portugal* was not many years ago lookt upon as his Master's Rebel, there being scarce a Gentleman in *Portugal* more intent than he in making his Court, or more careful to render himself acceptable. He to gain their Majesties Favour, hath during the whole time of his Residence, that is, for about seven years together on every Birth-night of the Eldest Prince, entertained the Nobility and Foreign Ministers with a new *Opera* of his own Composure, and acted by his own Family, and all to Celebrate the future Glories of his Highness. It would perhaps seem trifling in any other times but ours, to draw Consequences from any thing of this kind, but in our Age, Persons of his Excellencies Character do every thing by Prescription, and the lightest matters of Ceremony are exactly weighed.

It does not yet appear what advances the King of *Portugal* hath made at *Madrid*, towards the making good his Pretensions to the Succession, the publick Relations of the Proceedings at that Court, do as yet give but a slender Account of his Success; however, the frequent Couriers that pass, and repass, between the two Courts upon every alarm of the King of *Spain*'s Indisposition, shew that his Agents there are busy in carrying on his Interests, and his late Levies raised and maintained at an expence which his Kingdom is so little in a condition to bear, are an Argument that he is resolved to make One among the Competitors, as indeed it concerns him much to be, considering the apparent danger of his own Crown, in case he miscarries in his design upon that of *Spain*; for whether a Prince of



the House of *Austria*, or of *France*, shall inherit that Crown, he'll be Heir at the same time to *Philip* the 2<sup>d</sup>'s Title to *Portugal*, which as unjust as it was, was strengthen'd by sixty years Possession, and the Approbation of several Popes; and whoever reflects upon the Conduct of the House of *Austria* in the last Age, or of the *French* King in this, will find that very slender Pretences have served the turn, when either of them hath had a fair opportunity to invade his Neighbour, and see cause enough to be afraid; for the House of *Bragança*, should it ever have the misfortune to ly at their Mercy, as it almost infallibly will do, when either of them shall be in quiet Possession of the *Spanish* Monarchy; for *Spain* upon any change of Government, will almost necessarily recover so much of its ancient Vigor, as to be overmatch for *Portugal*. This small Kingdom may perhaps have some cause to hope, that its destruction will come on more slowly, in case it hath to deal with an *Austrian* Prince, but whether it will be therefore the less, sure is a question soon decided, when we consider what a close Union there hath always been between the two Branches of that House, each espousing the Interest and Quarrels of the other, and making them its own; how great a part the *Spaniards* had in the *German* Usurpations, in the business of the *Palatinate*, and the *Catholick* League; and how far the *German* Line interess'd it self in behalf of the *Spaniards* upon the Revolt of *Portugal*; when to revenge their Quarrel, the *Imperialists* contrary to all Faith, and Honour, the Right of Nations, and the Laws of Hospitality seiz'd upon Prince *Duarte*, the King of *Portugal*'s Brother, and made him end his days in a Prison. Now when a Prince of the same House, less Religious than his present *Imperial*

*rial* Majesty (and one of his Character does not arise in every Age) shall come to have *Portugal* in his power, can we think it likely, that he will so far forget the Maxims of his Ancestors, as to cherish a Race, that hath occasion'd so many disgraces to a Family? But if the King of *Portugal* hath little cause to expect security from that House, he would have less reason to think himself safe, should he fall under the Power of *France*; 'tis true indeed, if words of Friendship could insure him, he would be freest from danger, while the *French* are putting themselves in a Condition to destroy him, who till they are ready to give the Blow, are always lavish of their kind Promises, which such as have trusted in them, have found to be the forerunners or the means rather of their Ruin. Should a *French* Prince become possess'd of the *Spanish* Monarchy, if *Philip* the 2<sup>d</sup>'s Title will not do, there are a great many others now dormant, that will quickly be started up, the Kingdom of *Portugal* will soon be found to have been a Dependance of *Castille*, and it is but erecting a Chamber of Reunion to annex it thereto again, or a Right of Devolution may be pretended by the forfeitures which the Kings have incurr'd, they having been formerly Feudatorys to those of *Leon*, or the Great Monarch may think it will be for his Glory or his Convenience, to order his Generals to take Possession of this small Kingdom, and that, as appears from some Presidents, may be thought right sufficient.

It is not to be imagined, that the Court of *Portugal* is at this time of the Day insensible of the Dangers they are threatned with, the Agonies that the Ministers were in not long ago during his *Catholick* Majesty's Sickness, could scarce be thought



to proceed from any other Cause, and a Paper lately published in *English*, shows that they have been setting their Wits at Work to find out means for their Preservation, that is, to make good their Master's Claim to the Succession (which as they seem to be perswaded, is) the only visible way to secure themselves at this Juncture. The Author of that Paper seems to have left nothing unsaid that may make for his Master's Cause, and he hath gone a great way to prove him to have a much better Right than any other Pretender, if it be true, as he intimates, that there is such a Fundamental Law in *Spain*, as excludes Forreigners from the Succession, and I believe there can be no Instance given of any such, that have succeeded in a regular Way, except it be *Charles* the 5<sup>th</sup>, who was yet Son to the immediate Heiress, and possess'd of the Crown in his Mother's life-time: As for his Son *Philip* the 2<sup>d</sup>. and the rest that came after him, they were all natural born *Spaniards*, which Privilege must be granted to the Kings of *Portugal*, while *Portugal* is allowed to be a part of *Spain*, and it is certain that they are descended from *Donna Maria*, Daughter to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, and Sister to her who brought the Crown into the *Austrian* Family; so that if there be any such Law, as the aforesaid Author hints at, the King of *Portugal* may have a very fair Title, the *Dauphin* as 'tis asserted by his Competitors, being excluded by virtue of the Renunciation which was the necessary Condition of his Mothers Marriage, and the *German* line with the House of *Savoy* for their being Forreigners. This appears to be the best Title the King of *Portugal* can pretend to by Descent; 'tis true, the forementioned Writer sets up another, which he saith, His Master derives from his Predecessor

*Dom*

*Dom Ferdinand* King of *Portugal*, but upon what Grounds I shall not examine. It were much to be wished for the sake, both of the common Repose of *Europe*, and the Preservation of the *Spanish* Monarchy in particular; that his Majesty's Right was unquestionable since *Spain* by the Re-union of *Portugal*, might be enabled even at present to do something towards its own Defence, and in time gather strength, so as to subsist of it self, and ease its Allys of the great Charge and Trouble they are at, in keeping it from falling into Ruin.

There is one Advantage on the King of *Portugal*'s side, that must not be omitted, which is, That it will be very difficult for any other Prince to gain this Crown without his Consent, he being ready upon the place to oppose any other Pretender; his Forces indeed are but very small, when compared to those of other Princes, yet they are such, as with a little assistance from his Allies, may be able to make head against an Invader, and perhaps prove more numerous than any Army that can march into the heart of *Spain*, though furnish'd out by the great Monarch himself: *Spain* having this advantage from her present Desolation and Misery, that though she can make little Resistance against any powerful Enemies, yet she'll go near starve them, if they come upon her in any considerable Numbers. An Army that passes the *Pirenees*, must not look for such Entertainment as is to be met with in other parts of *Europe*; it was no difficult matter for the *French* King, possess'd as he was of the strong Holds on both sides him, to maintain his hundreds of thousands in the fruitful Countrys of *Flanders*, and on the Banks of the *Rhine*, but he may find it a harder task to subsist a third part of that Number in *Spain*, than it was for him to do the same in



*Piedmont* during the last War. A Traveller that passes through such Parts of this Country, as Nature hath been most indulgent to, is like to fare but ill, unless he carries Provision with him, and that for Beast as well as Man; but whether an Army like any of those that have been on foot of late Years, can come thus provided for so long a March as 'tis over the *Pirenees* into the midst of *Spain*, let others more skillful in these matters judge, but if it brings not along with it all things necessary for life, it is like to be ill suppli'd, and that not only in those bare and cragged Mountains, over which it must climb, but in the flat Country likewise; ill water'd for the most part, dispeopled, and uncultivated, and so parcht up, that scarce any thing Green appears in the Season, when Armies usually take the Field. In effect, the impossibility for a more numerous Army than their own to subsist in *Spain*, is generally what the *Portugueses* answer, when they are told of the great Forces which his *Most Christian* Majesty hath in readiness, and it is very probable, that in case they be assisted with a competent number of well disciplin'd Troops from abroad, their being beforehand with him upon the Place, and having their Magazins on the Frontiers, will give them a great Advantage, especially if they can but bring the *Spaniards* heartily to join with them in defence of their common Liberty; and one would think they should readily accept the Party, at least in opposition to the *French*, whose Government they must necessarily have in greater abhorrence, than the *Portugueses* themselves, considering the Antipathy that hath been always between them and the *French*, which has been kept alive by the continual Wars they have had with them, and of late Years seems to have been heightened



tened to the utmost Extremity of Hatred by the many intolerable and ungenerous insults they have received from them, with which the *French* have on all occasions been very careful to refresh their Memories; so that there is all reason to believe, they will be much sooner inclin'd to forget their former Animosities with their *Portuguese* Neighbours. Their Enmity to these never was so great as to make them banish all thoughts of uniting under one head, a thing often declar'd impracticable in regard to the *French*, in several Publick and Solemn Treaties; whereas in the very heat of the last War with *Portugal*, there was a Negotiation carrying on, and some advances made on both sides, to have a *Portuguese* Prince plac'd on the Throne of *Spain*.

For in the Year 1650. when *Philip* the 4<sup>th</sup>. having no other Child to inherit his Crown but the *Infanta Donna Teresa Maria*, the great Men in *Spain* were all for having that Princess married within the Kingdom, it being a common saying among them at that time, That *it was a very hard thing that they could never have, a King with Black Whiskers*; upon this, the King of *Portugal* was encouraged by the secret Intelligence he had at that Court, to think of a Marriage between the *Infanta* and his Eldest Son *Dom Theodosio*, and thereupon sent *Antonio Vieira* the Jesuit to *Rome* upon other Pretences, but with Instructions and Powers to propose the Match to the *Spanish* Ministers there, and he pretends that he wrought so effectually with some of the Principal Persons of that Nation and Faction, that he brought them to a great liking of his Proposal, insomuch that they seem'd desirous it should take effect, though the Match could not be  
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approv'd of by the Court of *Madrid*. The Arguments by which *Vieira* prevail'd with the Ministers at *Rome*, were drawn from the high Birth of the Prince, his being descended from the same Ancestors with the *Infanta*, and his Extraordinary Qualifications, all which were such that had things continued in the same state they had been in before the War; there was no question but that *Dom Theodosio* would have been the only Person pitcht upon, but the Jesuit urged, that as the case then stood, there were much stronger Arguments in his Favour; he being to bring along with him the Kingdom of *Portugal*, with all the Dominions belonging thereto in the one half of the World; that *Portugal* it self was a part and member of *Spain*, and by its Re-union would make the Monarchy entire again, which would thereby become more Powerful and Flourishing, than before the Separation: for the several Armies which at that time were employed on both sides upon the Frontiers, might then be all united together in one Body under the same Head, and *Spain* be so strengthened thereby, as to be able to give Protection to their Friends, be rever'd by Neutrals, and become a Terror to their Enemies. These Arguments if we can believe *Vieira*, were well tasted by those of the *Spanish* Party at *Rome*, at a time when the Enmity between the two Nations was at the highest; but now all Animosities being laid aside, perhaps the same, or others of a like nature may be hearkned to at *Madrid*, and incline those of that Court to distinguish the King of *Portugal* from among the rest that are Candidates for the Succession. There was one Scruple that the *Portugueses* made themselves at that time, they were unwilling to consent to a Re-union, unless



less *Lisbon* was to be the Capital of the *Spanish* Monarchy; but certainly the *Spaniards*, if they knew their own Interests, in case they agreed in other things, would readily gratify them in this Point. *Lisbon* by its Scituation so near the Sea, and upon the noblest River in the World, seems designed by Nature for the great *Emporium* of *Europe*, and were it in the hands of a People that knew how to improve their Advantage, it would go near to draw to it self the Trade and Riches of the World. *Philip* the 2<sup>d</sup>. was sensible of this, and therefore when he came to take Possession of the Kingdom, he promised, and as it was thought, designed, that instead of keeping his Court at *Madrid*, a 100 Leagues within the Land, *Lisbon* should be thence forward the place of his Residence, and in order thereto, he began the Structure of a most magnificent Palace, but it was well for *Christendom* that he continued not in this Resolution, and that his Son *Philip* the 3<sup>d</sup>. took it not up after him, for perhaps nothing could have contributed more to bring about the design they had laid of an Universal Monarchy.

I shall conclude this Chapter with this one Remark, that it seems fatal to the *Spanish* Monarchy to owe her Preservation from utter Ruin, to those who have brought her to a Condition, in which she is unable to help herself; they were the *English* that first humbled the *Spaniards*, when in the very height of their Pride, and from them do they now expect Relief in this their Extremity. By that expensive War in the *Low Countrys*, carried on successively by the three *Philips*, this Monarchy was brought into a languishing State, and the *Dutch* have since stood in the gap between it and destruction;



tion; the *Portugueses* at last gave that Monarchy its mortal Wound, since which it hath never been able to hold up its Head; the *French* indeed had endeavour'd to do the the same in that long War which preceded the Peace of the *Pirenees*, but did not effect it, for the *Spaniards* stood upon the level with them at that Treaty; it is true, some thought their Ruin might have been then completed, had that War according to Mr. *Turenne's* Advice been continued a little longer, and *Don Luis de Haro*, if it be true what is reported of him, was much of the same Opinion, but Cardinal *Mazarin* was ambitious to have that *Spanish* Minister, and all the World sensible of the Superiority of his *Genius*, and so interrupted the course of *Turenne's* Victories, and would needs meet *Don Luis* on the Frontiers, that they might have a publick Tryal of each others Politicks; *Don Luis* met the Cardinal, and gave his Eminence occasion to make as great a flourish as he pleased of all his rare Talents, but when the Peace came to be Sign'd, he could hold out no longer, nor forbear crying to his Friends, *Spain was lost, but is now safe*. So that the *French* left to their abandon'd Friends of *Portugal*, the Honour of working out the destruction of the *Spanish* Monarchy, which by the help of their Allies, they did effectually, at the two decisive Battles of *Ameixial* and *Montesclaros*, the *Spaniards* having never after been able to stand upon their own legs, but as they were crutch'd up by the *English* and *Dutch*, who ever since have had them lying on their hands, as a Punishment for what they did towards bringing them into this deplorable Condition; and now it seems that the  
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*Portuguses* have their turn come, to contribute on their parts to the Relief of this distressed Nation, and who knows but the *Spanish* Monarchy may at last receive its Cure from the Hand that gave it the last and deepest Wound, and recover new Life and Vigour by means of the *Portugueses*, who have been the immediate occasion of its fall.

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OF THE  
INTERESTS  
OF  
PORTUGAL,  
With Relation to  
FRANCE.

SINCE the Revolt of *Portugal* from the *Spaniards*, there hath been till now of late, an Appearance of a very close Union between This and the Crown of *France*, which seemed to be so well cemented, as if nothing were able to separate them; and indeed, were the common Opinion of the World true, concerning the Obligations of the *Portuguese* Nation to the *French*, it would be no wonder if their Friendship was in Effect so great as it appeared. For they would then stand engaged to each other by the most endearing Tyes in the World, *France* would have cause to account of *Portugal* as a Creature of its own raising, and the House of *Bragança* would owe its establishment upon the Throne to his most *Christian* Majesty. What greater Testimony

stimony of a sincere and cordial Affection can there be expected from one Ally to another, than that which *France* gave to *Portugal* in the Preamble to the 60th. Article in the *Pirenean* Treaty, that very Article whereby *Portugal* was abandoned to the mercy of the *Spaniards*, for therein his most *Christian* Majesty declares himself to be so passionately concerned for the good of this Kingdom, that on condition he could but procure for it the Benefits of Peace, he was willing among other things to yield up all the Conquests he had gain'd in the course of a tedious War of twenty five years continuance, and all this out of pure Generosity. He being as 'tis there declared, under no other sort of Engagement, than that of his own Good-will.

But upon a Review of the Transactions that have pass'd between the two Crowns, it will perhaps be found that the obligations of *Portugal* to *France*, have not been so very great as the World is apt to imagine. It cannot be denied, but that the *French* have all along exceeded other People by far in their Professions of Kindness to this Nation, but it will appear that those Professions, have not always been accompanied with suitable Effects, and it must have been some other means besides real Acts of Friendship, whereby they have supported their Interest and Party in this Kingdom. I shall in conclusion of this Chapter, show as well as I am able what those means were.

When the *Portuguses* had shaken off the *Spanish* Yoke, they found the *French* engaged in a War against the same Nation, and they look'd for mighty assistance from them, considering the Diversion they were like to give to the common Enemy, and in effect, the Ambassadors sent by King *John* to that Court, were received by Cardinal *Richelieu*, with  
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all the Demonstrations of kindness imaginable, his Promises out-running all that they could desire or wish for, insomuch, that the *Messineses* in our days did not think themselves more happy in the *French* Friendship at the first Engagement, than the *Portugueses* did at that time. A perpetual Peace was presently concluded between the two Crowns, each obliging himself to distress the Common Enemy by all possible means; to this end, the King of *France* was to send twenty Men of War to join so many of the King of *Portugals*. But I do not find that any great matter came of this Agreement, unless it were the taking of *Port Longone* for the *French* in 1646. when they perswaded the *Portugueses* to join them with a Squadron of their Ships, for it does not appear, that the *Portugueses*, for the space of almost twenty years, received the least assistance from *France*, but they were left to shift for themselves unexperienced as they were, and unprovided of all Military Preparations. They were all that time exposed to the first fury of the *Spaniards* at their own home, while in all other Parts of their Dominions, the *French* were possessing themselves of their Frontier Towns: 'Tis true, the *Portugueses* were encouraged all along with very large Promises of intended succours, but these Promises were turn'd into Excuses, as often as they had occasion to make tryal of what their Friends would do for them; when they desired a supply of Money towards the Charges of the War, the *French* were in want themselves; when they asked for Auxiliary Troops, the *French* on their Part would have Money for them, and required such excessive Summs, that the *Portugueses*, though they were brought in their necessity to bid high, could never come up to their Price. Once indeed, *Mazarin* was for sending  
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ing them a far greater supply of Men than they desired, for when the treaty of *Munster* was on foot, while the *French* were thinking of making their Peace, the Cardinal was very desirous to have the War transferred into *Portugal*, and to discharge into that Kingdom the Soldiery that might prove burthenfom to *France*. But the *Portugueses* had no mind to have more *French* among them, than they knew how to deal with, and gave his Eminence to understand, that they were a fraidin case they should accept his offer, of being more oppressed by their Friends, than they were already by their Enemies; so that after almost twenty years spent in Negotiations, I do not find that there was so much as one Company of *French* Soldiers in the *Portuguese* Service.

Being thus left to themselves to bear the Brunt of the War, they were still encouraged with hopes, that their Allies whensoever they made Peace, would not fail to procure very advantageous Terms for them, who contributed so much as they did to divert and weaken the Enemy. At their first making an Alliance with *France*, they found the Ministers of that Court so extreamly obliging, and ready to do more for them than they demanded, that they did not then think it necessary to press them upon this Point: But coming afterwards to perceive their Error, they obtained a Promise of *Louis* the 13<sup>th</sup>. to make with them a League offensive and Defensive; and in order thereto, a Treaty was entered upon with *Richelieu*, but when they were in a fair way to bring it to a Conclusion, that Cardinal died to their great Misfortune. For he being of a far more generous Temper than his Successor, they had doubtless received better Usage from him, than they afterwards met with at the



*French Court.* *Mazarin* indeed who succeeded him in the Ministry, was used on all occasions to go beyond him in fair Promises, but to come very short in Performances: He when the *Portugueses* proposed the League to him, finding them already embarked so far, that there was no drawing back for them, would by no means hearken to their Proposal, telling them, that the Alliance already made was sufficient; to enter into new Engagements, would argue a Distrust between the two Kings, whereas his most *Christian* Majesty had so tender a concern for his Friends, that nothing should be wanting on his part for their Preservation; however, he did not put them out of Hopes, but that such a League as they desired, should be concluded some time or other, but when they afterwards grew urgent with him, he fed them still with Promises, or put them off with Delays, and sometimes he would keep them in Play, by amusing them with all the Formalities of a Treaty which went forwards, or was broken off according to the several occasions he had for them. While there was any Prospect of concluding a Peace or Truce between the *French* and *Spaniards* at *Munster*, the Cardinal was thinking to dispose the *French* Troops in the manner now mentioned, for which, and other Reasons, he judged it convenient to have *Portugal* excluded out of the Peace. But the *Portugueses* at the same time were the more importunate with him to get themselves comprehended, and to that end solicited with greater earnestness than ever the Ratification of the so long promised League, and they pressed so very hard upon him, that his Eminence was at a loss how to put by their importunities; his Excuses were now spent, or by being often used had lost their force, and he was reduced  
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to his last shifts for a new one. The King of *Portugal* at last furnished him with one, it was indeed such a one as a Body would think was very remote and odd, however it served the Cardinal's Turn for that time.

There stands at *Villa Viçosa* the ancient seat of the Dukes of *Bragança*, an old Lady of the *Conception*, the most ancient of all the Ladies bearing that Title throughout *Spain*; to whom the Dukes have all along had a most singular Devotion, and as they thought not without Reason, she having serv'd them in place of a *Lar* to the Family. For as I remember, I have been told by one that had reason to know the concerns of that House, there have no considerable Alterations happened in the Family, but this Image, as it hath been believed since, hath some way or other given them notice of it before hand. King *John* after he had been pretty well settled in the Throne, began to remember his old *Penates*, and thought he could do no less in gratitude for the Favours received from this Lady, than devote himself and all his Dominions to the *Immaculate Conception*; declaring the Lady of that Appellation *Protectress* and *Guardian* of the Kingdom, obliging himself and his Successors to pay her at her House at *Villa Viçosa*, the annual Tribute of fifty Crowns of Gold, as an acknowledgment of their Homage; and withal according to the Custom of ancient Chivalry, he made a solemn Vow to defend her *Immaculate Conception* with his Arms. Not content to do this himself, he obliged the three Estates of the Kingdom assembled in *Cortes* to enter into an Association to the same purpose, every Member engaging himself by Oath to hold and maintain that Important Article. At the same time it was Declared and Enacted by his Majesty,



That whosoever should attempt any thing against it in case he were a Subject, he should be unnaturalized, and cast out of the Kingdom; if he were a King, he desired that God's Curse and his own might light upon him, that he might not be reckoned among his Descendents, hoping through the Divine Favour, that he would be thrown down from the Throne and dispoiled of the Royal Dignity. This Act passed the 5<sup>th</sup>. of *March* in the year 1646. Hitherto all things went smoothly on, there being nothing in the Association, but what the generality of the *Portugueses* were willing to assent to, and maintain with their Lives and Fortunes. But the King would needs have the *Dominican* Fryars swear to it, Men that are *Thomists* upon Oath, and whose Order had all along asserted a contrary Doctrine to that which the King would now force upon them. This Business was in Agitation while the *Portugueses* were adjusting all things in order to conclude the League with *France*. But *Mazarin* had now what he look'd for, a Pretext to break off the Treaty; for his Eminence sent the King word, that he thought it a very strange thing for him to put such a hardship upon the *Dominicans*. But the King continued in his Resolution, which the Cardinal took very ill at his hands; but the King in this case made no Account of his Anger, for as the *Conde da Ericeyra* saith, his Devotion to our Lady was such, that no Politick Consideration could make him desist from his Purpose, and doubtless the Cardinal foresaw as much, or else he had put his Invention to the rack to find out some other occasion for a Quarrel.

But the Congress at *Munster* being upon the point to break up, and things remaining in the same state as before between *France* and *Spain*; the Car-

Cardinal was for bringing on again the Treaty of a League with *Portugal*, but still he insisted upon unreasonable Conditions, and among others would have cautionary Towns put into the *French* hands, with two Harbours that were capable of the greatest Fleets. He was encouraged to make this Demand by the famous Jesuit *Antonio Vieira*, who had been sent to *Paris* to assist at the Conferences with the *French* Ministers, with Power to make what Proposals he in his own Discretion thought fit, and the Father was so very forward in making large Promises, that the Cardinal thought he could not be too exorbitant in his Demands, and they made such a bargain of it between them, that the Ambassador was fain to interpose and put a stop to their Proceedings, by declaring that he would sooner have his hands cut off, than sign what the Jesuit was agreeing to.

After this manner did his Eminence play fast and loose with his Friends till the year 1655. when the *Spaniards* had like to have done their Enemies of *Portugal* a kindness, which they found it impossible to do for themselves; for if the *Portugueses* had made use of the advantage which the *Spaniards* had put into their hands, they might have managed the Cardinal as they pleased, and brought him to Terms of their own prescribing. The *Spaniards* in order to make mischief in *Portugal*, and incense the People against the Court, gave out that they had made an offer of Peace to the King, and found him of himself willing enough to hearken thereto, but that he was imposed upon by his Ministers, who for their own Interests were still putting him upon continuing the War. This Report coming to the Cardinal's Ears gave him the Alarm, and raised a suspicion in him, that there might be some under-



hand Negotiation carrying on between *Spain* and *Portugal*, which, if such a thing there was, might spoil all his designs: He therefore dispatches away the Chevalier *de Sainte Foy*, to adjust the League, on Condition, that the King of *Portugal* would engage himself to a vigorous Prosecution of the War, to which end he should be furnished with Money for the Expence of the next Campagne, but withall the Envoy was ordered to complain how little *Portugal* minded the Interests of *France*, and of the several infractions of the Capitulations already made between the two Crowns; and to let fall some hints of the King's being suspected of having an Understanding with the common Enemy. The good King took care to vindicate himself from this unjust Aspersion, which the *Castillians* by their Calumnies had cast upon him, and clear'd himself so well, that St. Foy began to perceive that there was no occasion for a League, and so found out Pretences to defer the Conclusion of it. Hereupon King *John* dispatches away an *Irish* Fryar with the Character of his Envoy, I suppose to satisfy the Court of *France* of his Innocence, but with express orders to hasten the Conclusion of the League; and it seems the *Irish* Polititian acquitted himself of the first part of his Commission so much to the Cardinal's satisfaction, that his Eminence would hear no talk of what he had to say further, and so *Frey Domingos do Rosario* (for that was his Fryars name, I think his true one was *O Dally*) was sent back again, and ordered to tell his Master, that he should make his Peace with *Spain* himself if he would, and think no more of a League with *France*. This was the last Negotiation between *France* and *Portugal*, in the Reign of King *John* the 4th. the first King of the House of *Bragança*, and let the Reader judge

judge how far he was obliged to *France* for his Establishment upon the Throne.

After his death, there was little intercourse between the two Courts, the *French* leaving the Widow and the Orphan to shift for themselves, till the Treaty of the *Pirenees* was drawing on, and then the Cardinal had a further occasion for *Portugal*. During the course of this long War, *Spain* had lost several important places to the *French*, which they expected to have restored to them at the Peace, or some Compensation for them at least: For the *Spaniards* had not yet been accustomed to make Peace on such Terms as they have since been used to; they stood likewise obliged by Treaty made with the Prince of *Conde* at his first putting himself into their service, never to lay down their Arms till he was restored to all the Places and Governments possess'd by him in *France*, when he first came over to them. The *French* on the other side were as unwilling to part with the places in Question, as the *Spaniards* were to yield them up; and as for the Prince of *Conde*, neither the King, nor the Cardinal could be prevail'd with to put him in a condition to give them the like trouble again, as he had done formerly; for they were not without some jealousy, that he had a mind to be playing over his old Game again; and should he come off so well after all the Bustle he had made in the Kingdom, others might in after times be tempted to follow his Example: So that unless some Expedient could be found out to satisfy both Parties, here were insuperable Difficulties to obstruct the Peace, and a Peace the Cardinal was resolv'd to have as well for his own private Conveniencies, as to settle the state of the Nation, that was then as he thought or pretended, breaking out into new Disorders.



The *Spaniards* on their side were as willing to end the War as the *French* could be, so as it might be done with their Honour safe; they were sensible enough of their own feeble Condition; they saw that two or three Campaigns more were like to prove the total Ruin of their Monarchy. Besides, they were impatiently eager to be turning the whole force of their Arms against *Portugal*, which they made sure of over running with ease, could they be once at liberty from the *French*, and they were the more hasty to come to an Accomodation with them, for that the Pope began to be troublesome. The Ears of *Alexander* the 7<sup>th</sup>. were a little more open than those of his Predecessors to the *Bleatings* of *Portugal*, and he gave notice to the Cardinals of the *Spanish* Faction, that something must be done to end the Dispute, or he should be forc'd to acknowledge that King, who succeeding a Father that had reign'd sixteen years, could not be made to pass with the World for an Usurper. Thus were the minds of both Parties disposed for a Peace, but how should they come by it? Who could remove the Obstacles that lay in the way, and satisfy those irreconcilable Pretensions, from which neither Party would recede?

To bring all this about, the Cardinal had his Wits at work; he now began on a sudden to be mighty Zealous for the poor King of *Portugal*, whose Ruin was thought infallible, should the *French* forsake him, and therefore his Eminence would seem for some time to be as earnest for his Preservation as the *Spaniards* were bent upon his Destruction; both Parties agreeing in this, that should *Portugal* be excluded from the Peace, it would of course fall into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, so that in effect this Orphan Prince, and all that be-  
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long'd to him seem'd to be now wholly at the Cardinal's Disposal, since to exclude them from the Peace, was then thought to be the same thing in effect, as to give them up to the *Spaniards*, and these he had to set against the Prince of *Conde*, and the places demanded by the *Spaniards*, and he made his Advantage of them: For in all the Negotiations in Order to a Peace, when the *Spaniards* thought much of yielding up their Towns and Provinces, the *French* sometimes would mind them of a whole Kingdom, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, which they were ready to give in Exchange for their Conquests. When the *Spaniards* interceded for the Prince of *Conde*, the *French* when other Arguments fail'd, would speak for the King of *Portugal*: But there was this Difference between them, the *Spaniards* always began with the Prince of *Conde*, the *French* answered *Portugal* in their own Defence, the *Spaniards* got conditions for the Prince, not such as they pretended to, but very Honourable, considering how ill the Prince had deserv'd at the hands of his King. The Cardinal engaged his Master's Word, his Faith, and his Honour that *Portugal* should be utterly abandon'd for him. The *Spaniards* to the very last were passionately Urgent to get something more still for their Friend, the *French* surrendred us theirs at the first Overtures of a Treaty; the *Spaniards* were in earnest, the *French* had only a Turn of their own to serve.

The first Advance that appears to have been made to any purpose on either side towards a Peace, was in 1658. when the Marquis *de Lionne* was sent to *Madrid*, to treat with the Ministers of that Court; what Monsieur *de Lionne*'s Instructions were, *Mazarin* best knew, who in a Letter to the Pope concerning this Affair, told his Holiness, That if *Spain*  
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by his Authority could be brought to abate of their Pretensions in favour of the Prince of *Conde*, the Peace was upon concluding; since all other points were adjusted, Monsieur *de Lionne* having orders to abandon *Portugal*, in case *Spain* would not be so obstinate in behalf of the Prince: but *Spain* could not not be prevail'd upon, and so that Treaty was broke off. I have seen no particular account how this Business was manag'd at the Treaty of *Madrid*, perhaps it was then that the Offer was made by the *French* to restore their Conquests, and re-establish the Prince in his Governments, on Condition that the King of *Portugal* should remain in peaceable Possession of his Dominions, for that such an Offer was made some time or other we must believe, because it is so affirm'd in the 60th. Article of the *Pirenean* Treaty; but whenever it was made, the *French* were assur'd it would not be accepted, as I believe I shall presently make appear.

The Treaty of *Madrid* broken off by the *Spaniards*, persisting to Espouse the Prince of *Conde's* Interests, the *French* on their side were for sticking close to their Allies, and gave out that they were resolv'd never to abandon them. For the Marquis *de Lionne*, a little after declar'd publicly at the Diet of *Francfort*, that the King of *France* neither could nor would make any Peace without the Intervention of his Allies, viz. of *England*, *Portugal*, *Savoy*, and *Modena*, and in effect, they were about renewing their League with the Rump Parliament of *England*, then restor'd to their Seats after *Cromwell's* Death. They were likewise treating about a Match between their King and Madam *Margaret* Princess of *Savoy*, and seem'd to be so much in earnest, that there was an interview between the two Courts, when the King appear'd to be so much

much taken with the Lady, that many thought a Marriage was like to ensue. About the same time the Count *de Cominges* Ambassador Extraordinary from *France*, at *Lisbon* was Negotiating another Match between the same King, and the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, and that was likewise in such great forwardness, that Preparations were making for the Wedding, and several things got ready, which served afterwards when that Princess was Married into another Country; and all this to bring on a third Match between the same King and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, which had been in Treaty ever since the first Overtures of Peace were made, and both these Treaties with *Spain*, viz. of Marriage and Peace, had such a mutual Dependence on each other, that they were necessarily to proceed or break off together. The Advances that the *French* made towards a conclusion of the Match with *Savoy*, startled the Court of *Madrid*, for should they go on, there could be no hopes of a Peace; and *France* in all probability would in that case enter into new Engagements with *Portugal*, wherefore *Don Antonio Pimentel* was sent Post to *Lions*, whose presence there presently broke off all other Treaties, and revived those with *Spain*. The *Spaniards* yielding at last to the necessity of their Affairs, and accepting of the *French* Proposals in relation to the Prince of *Conde*, which were, that he should be permitted to return into *France*, and be restor'd to the King's Favour, but remain depriv'd of his Governments: The Court hereupon removing to *Paris*, the principal Articles were there adjusted, that were afterwards confirm'd by the two great Ministers at the *Pirenees*. But the Allies of *France* seem to have been quite forgot at this Treaty of *Paris*, as it was called, at least no mention made  
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of *Portugal*, unless it were in that Article whereby the *French* oblig'd themselves to abandon it; but that Article had then none of the fine Preamble before it, which now sets it off so much to advantage, in the printed Copys of the *Pirenean Treaty*.

While these things were transacted, the *Conde de Soure* was coming Ambassador extraordinary from *Portugal*, with such Instructions as show'd, that the Queen Regent was intirely satisfied of the sincere Affection of her intended Son-in-law, for he was ordered to demand no less then 4000 Foot, form'd into six Regiments and 1000 Horse, and all to be paid by his *most Christian Majesty*, even while they were in the *Portuguese* service; or if *France* could not spare so much Money, he was at least to raise the Men in that Kingdom. He was likewise to choose out two General Officers, and engage them in his Master's service, Cardinal *Mazarin* undertaking for their Fidelity and Ability; he was also to put the last hand to the League that had been so long in Agitation, there being little Cause to doubt but that it would now be soon brought to happy Conclusion.

But the Ambassador upon his arrival at *Havre de Grace* was surprized with the News, that a Truce had been Proclaim'd between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, and a day fixt for a Conferences between the Cardinal, and *Don Luis de Haro*, in order to conclude the Peace. When he was got to *Roan*, he receiv'd a Message from the *Portuguese* Agent, more mortifying than what he had heard before; for the Agent having acquainted the Cardinal of the Ambassador's arrival, was bid to advise him to come *Incognito* to *Paris*, his Eminence doubting whether it was convenient to receive a Publick Embassy from *Portugal*, whose Interests *France* was obliged  
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to abandon by the Peace to be made with *Spain*. Upon his coming to *Paris*, the Cardinal entirely disabus'd him, and put an end to all the hopes they had hitherto been feeding themselves with in *Portugal*; for now there was no more talk of the League with *France*, nor of any conditions to be made with *Spain*, but such as the Cardinal might be assured that the *Portugueses* would never be brought to accept of; so far was the Ambassador from obtaining the 5000 Men he came to Demand, that he could not prevail to have two General Officers of that Nation: The Cardinal having so much Honour left as to tell the Ambassador, that should he recommend *French Men* to him, in case the Peace with *Spain* ensued, the *Portugueses* might well question their Fidelity, and the *Spaniards* his Sincerity. However, he named to him two that were of other Nations, whom he advis'd him to Treat with, they being Persons of known Valour and Conduct, and in all respects qualified to Command in the Posts they were design'd for. The Ambassador took his advise after having consulted with Marsh. *Turenne*, who knew the Men, and highly approv'd of the choice; the first, That the Ambassador treated with, was the Earl of *Inchiquin*, who presently embark'd for *Portugal*, but had the misfortune to be taken in his Passage by the *Algerines*, and after having regain'd his Liberty, he had been but a little while at *Lisbon*, when the News came of King *Charles* his Restoration, which occasion'd his Return home. He was design'd afterwards to Command the Forces which that King sent to the assistance of *Portugal*, but he did not continue long there. The other was the Famous Count, afterwards Marshal and late Duke of *Schonberg*, who when he came to have the Command of Men that were worthy of such a  
Leader



Leader, soon chang'd the face of things in *Portugal*, and restored the most desperate Affairs of that Nation to such a state, that the *Spaniards* who now made sure of over running it, were glad to sue for a Peace, and the *French* who at this time were casting off the *Portugueses* with so much contempt, thought fit to court their Alliance: but those by whom the Count effected all this, were not *French* men, and the Cardinal was no Prophet. At present he had so little consideration for *Portugal*, that when he was presented with a Memorial containing twenty seven Reasons why *France* ought not to make Peace with *Spain* without including *Portugal*, his Eminence having now gain'd his ends could not find so much as one Reason among all the seven and twenty that was conclusive, though the *Portugueses* pretended to a Promise under the Hand and Seal of King *Louis 13th*. After this came on the Conferences between the Cardinal and *Don Luis de Haro*, at the *Pirenees*; there indeed the Cardinal would sometimes put in a word for the King of *Portugal*, but it was only in order to keep *Don Luis* quiet, when he had nothing else to defend himself withal from the Persecutions of that Minister, who notwithstanding what had been agreed upon at *Paris*, and consented to in *Spain*, could not help making some motion or other in almost every Conference for the Prince of *Conde*; and sometimes he would do it with so much Vehemence, that the Treaty was several times like to be broken off purely on this Account, even when all other Matters were adjusted. For *Don Luis* was so very tender of his Master's Honour, which seem'd to him to ly at stake on this single point, that he thought he could never do enough to retrieve it; one would think were we to judge of the Conduct of these

two great Men, as 'tis represented in *Mazarin's* Letters, that on this occasion he had changed Characters with the Cardinal; *Don Luis* is represented at other times, as having all the distinguishing qualities of a *Spaniard*, and the Cardinal on all other occasions complains of him for being stiff, slow, and cold, but when he makes him Pleading for the Prince of *Conde*, he represents him as transform'd into another Man. He would then become supple on a sudden, using all the most Insinuating and Engaging ways of Address, to gain upon the Cardinal, he would Caress, Court and Flatter him, enduring his Repulses without the least Resentment, as long as he thought it possible to bring him to a Compliance, and as he found all would not do, he would then begin to take Fire, grow Impatient, and break out into the most passionate Complaints, as unable to bear the Reproach that his Master must be forc'd to abandon his Allie. The Cardinal did not show himself so very passionate for the honour of his Master, or the safety of his Allie, had the Affair of *Portugal* gone as much to his Heart, it is not unlikely but the *Italian* would have fawn'd and cringed as much, and winded himself into as many shapes to gain his ends as the *Spaniard*. They that know any thing of Cardinal *Mazarin's* former Conduct, would surely have expected a great deal more of this from him, than from a Person of *Don Luis de Haro's* Character and Quality. Its true, his Eminence was at this time at the very heighth of his Greatness and Glory, and might think it beneath him to be playing over his old tricks, he would now be thought to have put off the *Italian*, and pretended much to the Promptitude and Vivacity of a *Frenchman*; but then had he any concern for his Allie, he would surely have receiv'd some warmth



warmth from all that heat He observed in *Don Luis*, at least that natural Vanity of his, which was at this time encreased to as great a height, as the station he was in could raise it, should have put him upon doing something for a Prince, who had no other Dependence but upon him; and what could there have been more Glorious for this proud Great Man, who had a Crown'd Head for his Client, being so sensible as he was, that the Eyes of all *Christendom* were upon him, Princes and Nations expecting their Fate in the Issue of his Proceedings, than instead of wrangling and squabbling about the exchange of every little *Bicocque*, to be pleading the Cause of a Distressed and Orphan King? But alas! he did not lay the Cause of *Portugal* to heart at all, nor concern himself for its Preservation. He had used that People before so basely, that he seem'd to desire their Destruction no less than the *Spaniards* themselves; He contented himself sometimes to repell the most lively instances of *Don Luis* for the Prince of *Conde*, by telling with all the Coldness and Phleme imaginable, That *his Master* was so desirous of Peace, that he had no such Considerations for the King of Portugal, as he expressed for the Prince, and that *his Master* might in Justice use the Prince of *Conde* in the same manner as the *Spaniards* intended to serve the King of Portugal. Its true, that in one of the first Conferences, when he had no other way to put by the Importunities of *Don Luis*, he told him, (knowing very well as he saith himself in his Letter to Mr. *Le Teller*, that he should not be taken at his Word) that since he was so very Passionate for the Interests of the Prince, he himself had one Proposal to make, and would desire the King his Master's Consent, which should be more advantageous to the Prince,  
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than any thing Don Luis had yet desired : The Spaniard over joy'd at this News, was impatient to know what the Proposal might be; the Cardinal told him, *He would desire the King of France to restore the Prince and his Son the Duke of Anguien, to all their Charges and Governments, on Condition that the Catholick King would leave Portugal in the state it was then in.* The Offer was rejected with all the Indignation that the Cardinal look'd for, and had he not thought as much, it never had been made; for as his Eminence saith to Mr. Le Tellier, *when he made this bold or hardy Proposal, as he calls it, he knew it would not be accepted.* Now if the French did not think it worth their while to rescue the Kingdom of Portugal from apparent Ruin at so small an Expence, as giving the Prince of Conde his Employments again, it is more unlikely still that they should be willing both to do that, and yield up the many strong Towns and some entire Provinces, that they had possess'd themselves of in a five and twenty years War; and this it is that tempts me to believe, that the Proposal mention'd in the 60th. Article of this Treaty, was never made in earnest; the Cardinal in the same Letter gives a little more light into this Mystery; he saith there, *That he made these offers to let Don Luis see what vast Advances his Master had made towards a Peace, and of what consequence his yielding in the point of Portugal was; since rather than do that, he would be content to restore the Prince to his Governments, and give up all his Conquests, and it is a great Ease to me, continues he, that when Don Luis is reckoning up the great Advantages the King gets by this Peace, counting the Places and Provinces that remain to his Majesty, that I can answer him again, that all he said was no-*  
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thing in Comparison to the Concession we make in the Article of Portugal, though he gives a hint to Mr. Le Tellier by the by, that for certain Reasons unknown to the Spaniards, all this was no such great matter neither, as he endeavour'd to make them believe. I do not find by his Letters that he made this Hardy Proposal as he calls it, any more during the whole time of the Treaty, but I find him afterwards directing Mr. De Lionne to word the Preamble of the Article in the same manner as it now stands; the Body it seems was adjusted before at the Treaties of Madrid and Paris, so that possibly the Preamble had no better grounds for it than the occasional Discourse of which I have now given an account, let the Reader then judge what we are to make of this formal Declaration, (*vid.* the 60th. Article of the Treaty of the Pirenees.)

That his most Christian Majesty desiring with an extreme Passion, to see the Kingdom of Portugal enjoy the same Repose that other Christian States acquire by this present Treaty, had to that end propos'd a good number of Ways and Expedients, which he thought might be to the satisfaction of his Catholick Majesty, among which notwithstanding, as hath been said, that he is under no sort of Engagement in this affair, he hath gone so far as to be willing to deprive himself of the Principal Fruit of that happy Success which his Arms have had during the course of a long War, offering besides the Places which he restores by this present Treaty to his Catholick Majesty, to surrender up all the Conquests in general that his said Arms have made in this War, and to re-establish entirely Monsieur the Prince of Conde, provided and on condition that the Affairs of the Kingdom of Portugal might be left in the state they are in at present, &c.

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I cannot pretend to tell what the many Ways and Expedients here mention'd were, finding little or nothing said of them in the Accounts of the Treaty that are yet extant, or in the Cardinal's Letters, who seems to have given an account of all the most material Passages, and yet he mentions but one expedient as propos'd by himself, and he saith too, that he offer'd that rather to divert *Don Luis* from pressing him, in behalf of the Prince than out of hopes that it would be accepted. He made it on this occasion: *Don Luis* had been very urgent with him, that since the Prince could not be restored to his Charges and Governments in *France*, he might be allow'd to accept of a Compensation elsewhere, and that the *Catholick* King might bestow upon him either the two *Calabrias*, with the Kingdom of *Sardinia*, or the Government of the *Low Countries*, with the same Authority and Emoluments as it was possess'd by the Cardinal *Infante*, and some places for himself on the Frontiers; but the Cardinal would consent to nothing of all this, saying, That the Prince must resolve to be wholly *French* or wholly *Spanish*, that is, have no dependence upon the King of *Spain*, or have nothing to do in *France*: Yet since the King of *Spain* was so willing to part with these Countries, he desired that the Kingdom of *Sardinia* might be given to the King of *Portugal*, and he would desire his Master to agree to it, so as that the *Portugueses* should have cause to be satisfy'd. This saith he to *Don Luis*, is the finest Expedient in the World, both to content the King, and let the World see that my Master seeks to get a handsome Retreat for his Ally; for if the King of *Portugal* shall embrace this Expedient, the *Catholick* King will be put in Possession of several Kingdoms, the least of which is more considerable than



*that of Sardinia.* I do not find that the Cardinal propos'd any other Expedient besides this, and this is enough to show what an extream Passion he had to serve his Master's Ally; he would have him surrender up all his Dominions for that poor and little Kingdom of *Sardinia*, which the *Spaniards* on several such occasions have offered to give away, but could never get any one to accept of it, and yet it seems the Cardinal thought this was too much for the King of *Portugal*, for he propos'd it as he saith himself, *without any hopes of succeeding.*

There was indeed another Expedient offer'd at, but it came from *Don Luis*, which was, That on condition the Prince might have some Place of surety given him, such as *Havre de Grace*, the Duke of *Bragança* should have *Olivença* bestow'd on him, be re-establish'd in his Estate and Honour, and have over and above the Office of Constable of *Castille*. But this Expedient was laugh'd at by the Cardinal, he thought that what *Don Luis* offer'd, was too dear at the price of *Havre de Grace*, and therefore he would bid nothing at all: When he was brought to consent at last, that the Prince of *Conde* should have the Government of *Burgundy* with the Castle of *Dijon*, and the Duke of *Anguien* his Son, the Place of *Grand Maitre*, he did not so much as pretend to an Equivalent for his Ally of *Portugal*, but screw'd from the *Spaniards* aversness for his Master, and the Restitution of *Juliers* for the Duke of *Nieubourg*. As for the King of *Portugal*, he was to surrender up all his Kingdoms and Dominions, and content himself with his Paternal Estate, and a Pardon for what was past, which as the Article saith, was all that his most *Christian Majesty* by his powerful Offices could procure for him; but in case that he did not accept of the same within three Months

Months after the Ratification of the present Treaty, his said Majesty promis'd, engag'd, and oblig'd himself upon his Honour, in the Faith and Word of a King, for himself and his Successors, not to give to the said Kingdom of Portugal in common, or to any Person or Persons therein in particular, of what Dignity, Estate, Quality or Condition soever, any Aid or Assistance, Publick or Secret, Directly or Indirectly of Men, Arms, Ammunitions, Provisions, Ships or Money, nor any thing else either by Land or by Sea, or in any other Manner; and that he would not suffer Levies to be made in any parts of his Kingdoms or Estates, nor grant Passage to such as might come from other States to the Assistance of the said Kingdom of Portugal, so that hitherto the House of Bragança hath not been very much obliged to France.

But before I proceed further, I find my self obliged to justify the Cardinal's Memory from a most horrible crime, which the French men themselves do not stick to charge him with; for they among others pretend, that at the making of this Solemn Promise, he had already resolv'd to violate his Faith, and that he was intending to send those succors into Portugal, which afterwards arriv'd there from France, at the very time when he was obliging his Master, who was then but a young Man and under his Direction, to swear the contrary; but I think there is Cause to believe, that so detestable a Perfidy had not as yet enter'd into his thoughts. Its true, what he saith to Mr. Le Tellier, That for some reasons unknown to the Spaniards, his yielding in the point of Portugal, was not so advantageous to them as he made them believe; would look very suspicious, were it not a usual thing with him on all other occasions to affect be-



ing thought a greater *Fourbe* than he really was; for we find him bragging in most of his Letters, how he cheated the *Spaniards*, in making them think more highly of almost every one of his Concessions than they deserved, whereas they took his Eminence for the *Duppe* all the while. But I do not in the least Question, but that he really did design to abandon *Portugal* to the *Spaniards* at this time, according as he was now obliged by all that is Sacred among Men; I will not urge for a Reason that he all along most solemnly protested to *Don Luis*, that in case the *Portugueses* submitted not to the conditions offer'd them by this Peace, he would perswade his Master to hold them for his Enemies, for I believe few will give much heed to Protestations made by his Eminence on these occasions; but he spoke his mind without doubt in another Letter, sent by him to Mr. *Le Tillier*, to be communicated to the King, wherein he represents the affairs of *Portugal* to be in so deplorable a State, *That the Queen Regent was neither in a condition to defend her self, nor in any terms of accommodation with the Spaniards, so that as things stood, both she and her Son, were in great danger, not only of their Crown, but of their Persons.* But notwithstanding all this, he doth not advise the King, that the Troops should be ready for a Voyage to *Portugal*, against the signing of the Treaty, in order to preserve that Crown, and save the Persons of the distressed Queen and her Children, had he any such design in his head at that time, we should in all probability find him giving some hints of it in these Letters. But to put this matter out of doubt, he talks of sending to that Princess, to let her know, *That he thought it most expedient for her to submit her self to the King of Spain, from whom he was*  
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*perswaded she might obtain an Equivalent to advantage elsewhere, for what Estate she and her Son were possess'd of in Portugal, since he had been often told by Don Luis, that his Master in order to compleat the Peace, would not stick to bestow on her Son the Charge of Constable of Castille with other such like Honours.* This surely is not the Language of one who was designing to send Forces to her assistance, to animate her to carry on the War, so that it seems to be an unjust Aspersion upon his Memory, to say that he made this Peace with a purpose to violate it as soon as it was Sign'd; there is indeed cause enough to suspect that he was not so passionately concern'd for the Well-fare of his Master's Allie, as is pretended in the Article, or rather he may be justly accused of the greatest Inhumanity to say no worse; who when he thought this Family was in so deplorable a Condition, as he describes, and the *Castillians* so disposed to an Accommodation, procured no better terms for them, as he certainly might have done while the Treaty lasted, and the business of the Prince of *Conde* was in agitation. But still he clears himself of that which would have rendered him more infamous to Posterity; of engaging his Master in so black a Crime, as is a premeditated willful Perjury.

But by whose fault soever it was, this is certain, That the Peace was no sooner ratified on both sides, confirm'd by the Marriage between the *French King*, and the *Infanta of Spain*, and sworn to at the high Altar before the Sacrament, which was expos'd on this occasion; but while the People were every where making publick Demonstrations of their Joy, for so happy a Conclusion of a long and calamitous War, great Numbers of the most expert Officers in the Kingdom, Gentlemen, Soldiers, Engineers,



Miners were marching towards *Havre de Grace*, in order to Embark for *Portugal*: These were afterwards follow'd by the choice of the King's Troops, till at last the *French* Auxiliaries in *Portugal* amounted to near 6000 effective Men. But this was none of the Cardinal's doing, for as little as he kept his Faith with the *Portugueses*, he dealt more sincerely with the *Spaniards*, for he sent the Marquis de *Croup* upon the Message mention'd in his Letters, to perswade the Queen Regent to surrender up the Kingdom, in hopes that the Dukes of *Bragança* should hereafter be made perpetual Governors, or Vice Roys of *Portugal*; and these were all the Instructions he gave the Marquis, as the Marquis declar'd when he arrived at *Lisbon*, where he met with such a cold Reception as his Message deserv'd; so far was he from giving any underhand encouragement to the *Portugueses* to carry on the War, as some Writers affirm he did with great Injustice to the Cardinal. Its true, that while his Eminence was disabusing the *Portuguese* Ambassador, as to all his former Promises, he entertain'd him in hopes that ways might be found out for the *French* Troops to pass into *Portugal*, after the Peace was made with *Spain*; but when the Count de *Harcourt* offer'd the same Ambassador, to put himself with two Regiments into the *Portuguese* service, in case he could but have the Tacit Consent of *France*, he was not only denied by the Cardinal, but told that if he persisted in the Design, he should forfeit the place of *Grand Ecuyer*, which had been granted to his Son, the Count d' *Armagnac*; so that the Cardinal seems to be pretty clear of this so great and direct a Violation of the new made Treaty.

Nor is it to be thought that his Master could have any hand in it; for his most *Christian Majesty*

to manifest to the World, how disposed he was to observe the Oath he had so Religiously taken, when it appeared that the *Portuguese* Ambassador was lifting Men in *France*, sent him repeated Orders to depart the Kingdom, and some time afterwards commanded the Agent of the same Nation to be turn'd out likewise, and publish'd his Edicts to recal home such Officers and Soldiers as were in the *Portuguese* service, confiscating the Estates of the Disobedient. 'Tis true, the Ambassador after he had been order'd to be gone, continued sometime at *Havre de Grace*, with no less then 600 Officers, Gentlemen, &c. about him, that he had raised for the service, and they did not lie concealed all the while, for the Inhabitants of the Town rose in a Mutiny against them, for eating up their Provisions; and when they and others after them arrived in *Portugal*, they were under Military Discipline, so that should they offer to obey their King's Edicts, Count *Schonberg* who was their Leader, might have hang'd them for Desertion; and the Count for his part when he return'd into *France*, was rewarded with a Marshals Bâton: Levies were afterwards publicly made indeed for the same service, but then it was done in Marshal *Turenne's* Name, who took the *Portuguese* Affairs upon his account; and when the *Spaniards* made loud complaints of it, as a manifest infraction of the Treaty, their Ambassador was put off with a cold and contemptuous Answer, that it was but the Act of a private Person, and that the Court did not concern it self in the Business. The same thing its true was at last done openly, and without Disguise, but it does not appear where the fault lay then.

As the *French* succors arrived in *Portugal*, the affairs of that Kingdom began to change face, for  
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if they were before, as the Cardinal supposed them to be, in a bad state, they now fell from bad to worse: The *Portugueses* while they were left to stand on their own Leggs, had as meanly as the Cardinal thought of their condition, bravely defended themselves, and gain'd several very considerable Advantages over their Enemies, particularly at the two famous Battles of *Montijo* in 1644. and *Elvas* in 1658. This last Victory was the more considerable, for that it gave a check to the fury of the *Spaniards* when spur'd on by the Pope, who pretended he must be forc'd to acknowledge that King's Title, they made their utmost efforts to quiet his Holiness, and destroy them out of hand; and had the year before taken *Olivensa*, the most important Place for strength next to *Elvas*, that the *Portugueses* had; and that year *Don Luis de Haro*, himself at the head of all the Forces he could muster together, had obliged them to rise from the Siege of *Badajoz*, at the very time when the place was reduc'd to Extremity, but at the last they entirely routed *Don Luis*, when he laid Siege to *Elvas*, which defeat so disheartned the *Spaniards*, that for the two following Years, they gave the *Portugueses* little trouble; it seems they thought fit to defer their Revenge till the Peace was made with the *French*, and then they took it to some purpose, on the *Portugueses* and the *French* together. For in the Years 1661 and 62. *Don John of Austria*, at the head of a small Army, in all not amounting to 20000, but consisting of *Veteran* Troops drawn from *Italy* and *Flanders*, entred *Portugal*, Ravaging, Spoiling and Burning all before him; 'tis true, he never gain'd any set Battle, for by all the Havock he made, he never could provoke the Enemy to fight, though he several times sent them the Defiance,

fiance, and insulted them in their very Trenches, so he contented himself with taking a vast number of their Towns, many of them Rich, Populous and Strong. The first year he took *Arronches* and *Alconchel*, and fortified and put Garrisons into both places, in the former near 5000 men; the next year he was early in the Field, and in the heart of *Portugal*, putting all things to Fire and Sword; and *Lisbon* it felt was in such a horrible Consternation, that had he marched directly thither, 'tis thought he might have taken the City without Resistance. But continuing to destroy the Country, he sent a Detachment to take *Villa Boim*, a strong and rich Place, but presently surrendered by a *French* Governour. After this, he braved the *Portuguese* Army in their Camp, under the Walls of *Estremos*, but in vain, for it was impossible to draw them to a Battle; he then took *Borba*, a place of small strength indeed, but desperately Defended, for it had a *Portuguese* Governor. Next he laid Siege to *Geromenha*, a place strongly Situated and Fortified after the modern way, with a Garrison of 3000 Men, and provided with all things necessary for a stout Defense, but surrendered in a Months time after the *Portuguese* Army had in vain attempted to relieve it; this done, *Don John* would have fought the *Portugueses*, but found they had alter'd their mind, and having strongly intrench'd themselves near *Villa Viçosa*, patiently beheld him Ravaging the Country round about them, he seeing he could do no good upon them, took *Veyros* and blew up the Castle, enter'd *Monforte*, and put a Garrison in it; destroy'd *Alter-Chaon*, *Cabeça de Vide*, and *Alter Poderoso*, and all the Country round about. He then took *Crato*, and in it the *Portugueses* stores and Provisions, ordering the Governor to be shot to Death



Death for making Resistance, upon that, *Assumar* was presently surrendered to him; he would have taken Possession likewise of *Alegrete*, but that place, as it must be acknowledg'd, was preserv'd by a *French* Governor. For when *Don John* sent him a menacing Summons, he was answer'd with a Present of two Bottles of Wine, the Governor desiring his Highness to tast what excellent Liquor the place afforded, sending him word with all, that he was resolv'd to defend the Town to the last Drop. The jest took, and *Don John* without giving the Man any further trouble, continued his march, and entered *Ouguella* without Resistance, a small place but of great Importance; and having left two Regiments in it the Summer heats coming on, retired into Quarters.

The Next year he took the Field again with an Army much stronger and better provided then before. He had no sooner past the Frontiers, but he was expected at *Lisbon*; however, he thought fit to make himself Master first of *Evora*, the second City of *Portugal*, as he did after nine days Siege; the Garrison which was numerous, being made Prisoners of War for that Summer, and sent away into *Castille*; by this success *Don John* became in a manner Master of all *Alemtejo*, or the Country on the other side of the *Tagus*. He sent a Detachment of 3000 Horse and 2000 Foot down as far as *Alcacere do Sal*, a Town situated upon the River *Sado*; not far from *Setuval*, the most considerable Sea-port Town next to *Lisbon*, and but at a small distance from it. This was done with design to encrease the Consternation at *Lisbon*, in order to *Don John's* marching thither, to put an end to the War. The People of that City when they heard of his laying Siege to *Evora*, expecting that  
their

their turn should be next, were all in an Uproar ; but when the News came that *Evora* was taken, such a fury possess'd the City, that the better sort through rage and despair joyn'd the Rabble, and all in a common Mob, fell a committing such Outrages, that they seem'd resolv'd to prevent the *Spaniards*, and finish their own Ruin themselves. Their violence was not a little increas'd by *Antonio de Sousa*, a Man never good at dealing with a Multitude. He thinking to amuse them and divert their Fury upon the common Enemy, would needs have a line drawn a cross the *Terreiro do Paço*, causing it to be published, that all those brave Men that would pass the Line, and come over to the side next the Palace, should be chosen out to help the Army in defence of their Countrys Liberty. The Novelty of the thing drew an innumerable concourse of People together, who when their Passions were up, forgot the Enemy, and leaving the *Terreiro do Paço*, fell foul upon the Houses of the Ministers of State, such more especially, as had manag'd the Military Affairs, and after they had been Ranfacking, Plundering and Burning, whatever came to hand they return'd again, and it may have been through weariness, rather than want of will, that they spared the Palace it self.

These terrible Convulsions seizing upon the Kingdom, at a time when the Enemy was raging in its Bowels with so much Violence, look'd like the symptoms of an approaching end ; but the *English* were now arriv'd and ready for Action, and they by the quick and happy Turn, which they gave to the *Portuguese* Affairs, recovered the expiring State to Life again, and enabled that People to expel the Enemy, and follow him into his own Country, and to humble him to the Condition in which he hath remained



mained ever since; but of this in its due place.

As soon as the Affairs of *Portugal* were by the help of these their Friends brought (to a flourishing condition) they could be in their circumstances considered, and the War in all appearance drawing towards a happy conclusion on their side, his most *Christian* Majesty began to have a particular Esteem for the King of *Portugal*, and to own him publickly for his Allie; and his Affection for that Prince was now so very great, that notwithstanding the Engagements he was under to *Spain*, not to concern himself with him: He was now resolved to stand by him, and take his part against all Opposers, the *Spaniards* more especially; and to become (as his Majesty was pleased himself to express it) his Companion in Arms; He telling the *Portuguese* Ambassador at a secret Audience in 1666. that he was ready, not only to bear a share with him in the Expenses of the War, but likewise to accompany him into the Field; offering withal, of his own accord, to enter into the League which the *Portugueses* had for so many years together implored in vain, during the time of their Distress; and more than that, was very urgent in pressing their consent to it. Its true, indeed the *Portugueses* had never less occasion for his Assistance, then at the time when he was so earnest with them to accept of it, but his most *Christian* Majesty had great occasion for theirs.

For that King being then in his full Vigour, and the very flour of his Age, he out of his extreme thirst after Glory, was meditating a suddain Irruption into the *Spanish* Netherlands, several of which Countries lying convenient for *France*; he laid claim to them in his Queen's Right, who being a Child of the first *Venter*, ought as 'twas said, according to the Laws of those Countries, to have  
in.

inherited them from her Father, who died the last year, in Exclusion to the Male Issue by a second Marriage. 'Tis true, that Princess had at her Marriage made a formal Renunciation of any Right or Title that might accrue to her, to her Father's Dominions, either in whole or in part: But in all other respects, the *French* King found himself in a condition to make good his Claim; his Armies after a long breathing time had now recovered new Vigour. His Brother-in-law the King of *Spain* was then but an Infant under Government of his Mother, and the Widow and the Orphan were like to make but a feeble Resistance; for their best Troops had been drawn from *Flanders*, and consumed in this fatal War with *Portugal*; but however, for fear lest the *Spaniards* were not yet humbled enough to be securely trampled upon, or if there were none else to fall upon them at the same time, might make some dying Efforts to repel so unjust an assailant as they no doubt would take his most *Christian* Majesty to be. It was judged convenient, that while he was engaging himself in this hazardous Enterprize, the *Portugueses* should be set on to keep the *Spaniards* in Play, and animated to follow those deadly Blows they had already given them, with a more vigorous prosecution of the War. And therefore it was, that *France* proposed the League Offensive and Defensive to this Court.

But to persuade the *Portugueses* to embrace the Proposal, was thought and with a great deal of Reason, to be no easy matter; for as much pleas'd and elevated with their Victories as they were, they had as great cause as ever to wish for a Peace. That poor People had been in Arms for these five and twenty years, and were now harass'd out, and almost spent in defending their Country; a small  
Country



Country indeed, yet but thinly Peopled and stretch-  
ed out in length, with a Frontier of a hundred  
Leagues, which must be continually guarded or lie  
exposed to the Enemies incursions. In this long  
War their Youth had been destroyed, their Lands  
laid wast, their Stocks consumed, and their Moneys  
brought to an end; so that should the War continue,  
let their Victories be never so many, it must neces-  
sarily in a short time compleat their Ruin. To a  
People in such a case, all talk of prolonging the  
War must sound so harsh, that it could not be i-  
magin'd they should hear of it with any Patience;  
and that which gave the *French* greater cause still  
to despair of gaining their ends on the *Portugueses*,  
these had now for some time been flattering them-  
selves with hopes, that they should see a speedy  
end of their Miseries. The stomachs of the *Spani-  
ards* were by this time come down, and they desired a  
Peace as much as the *Portugueses*; Sir Richard Fan-  
shaw the *English* Ambassador at *Madrid*, had wrought  
so effectually upon them, that the Articles were  
drawing up, and all things making ready for a  
Treaty; Sir Richard's Secretary had been in *Portu-  
gal* to give notice to that Court of what he was do-  
ing for them at *Madrid*, and he had signified by  
Letters, that he was preparing for his Journey to  
*Lisbon*, in order to set the last hand to the Treaty.  
These Tidings had been received in *Portugal* with  
the welcome they deserv'd, and the blessed Mes-  
senger of Peace, as Sir Richard was then call'd, was  
look'd for with impatience: They thought their  
Condition upon his coming would be a kind of  
Heaven, to what it then was, He being, as one of  
the great Ministers express'd it, to let them in to the  
Beatifick Vision.

The *Portugueses* being thus disposed, the *French* saw plainly that it would be to no purpose to make any direct motion to them, for carrying on the War; so that in order to bring the Design about, it was thought convenient to take a Compass, and all their Talk was of Peace while they were preparing themselves and inciting their Friends to War; or if War was mention'd, it was only by the bye, and as a last reserve in order to procure for *Portugal* a more firm, lasting, and honourable Peace. But to secure this, 'twas pretended that a League with *France* was absolutely necessary for *Portugal*, *France* being alone able, as they said, to procure good Conditions from the *Spaniards*, and to see they should be well observ'd. To this purpose had *Messieurs*, *Turenne* and *Colbert* been several times discoursing with the *Portuguese* Minister at *Paris*. And that the *Portugueses* might be sensible that nothing but their Good was aimed at, the *French* Ambassador at *Madrid*, who was there making the most solemn Protestations that the *Pirenean* Treaty should be kept inviolable, had Orders likewise to interpose his Master's good Offices, and make a tender of his Mediation to compose all Differences with *Portugal*, and put an end to the War: This offer being hearkned to as 'twas pretended, the *Marquess de Sande* (then at *Paris* adjusting King *Alfonso's* Marriage, and having the Character of an Ambassador for that business only) was sent for to the secret Audience before mention'd, and told that the Queen Regent of *Spain* had accepted of the Mediation, and that in case such Proposals were made by that Court as were fit to be accepted, the *French* Ambassador there had Orders to make a Journey to *Lisbon* and conclude the Peace; or if any thing should detain him, he was to communicate the



Proposals to the *Abbè de S. Romain* at *Lisbon*, who should impart them to the *Portuguese* Ministers; there being no doubt but that the Peace would be soon adjusted, considering to what a miserable condition the *Portugueses* had reduced the *Spanish* Monarchy. But then his Majesty did not think it adviseable for them to take up with any doubtful or fallacious Truce, and in conclusion, bid the *Marquess* assure the King of *Portugal*, that in case a Peace ensued, He himself would be the Guarant; if a War, he would both bear a share in the Expences, and become the King of *Portugal's* Companion in the Field.

*Monfieur de S. Romain* had the good fortune to arrive in *Portugal*, and got Audience at the Court which was then at *Salva Terra*, before *Sir Richard Fanshawe* came there, and he displayed all his Eloquence, in setting forth that the King his Master had so sincere an Affection for *Portugal*, that understanding the *Spaniards* were coming to an Accommodation, he was very desirous to see the Peace adjusted, on condition that the Proposals made by *Spain* were Advantageous and Honourable; but in case they should prove otherwise, he was ready to assist the *Portugueses* with his Troops, Fleets and Money at their choice, and as their Occasions should require. These fine Words as they were not wholly lost, yet had not that effect upon the Court, as to dispose them for a League with *France*; they were wishing still for *Sir Richard Fanshawe's* coming, and testified their satisfaction at his Arrival, by giving him the most splendid Reception that was possible at that distance from *Lisbon*, but all the hopes conceiv'd on both sides from this Treaty soon vanish'd; for *Sir Richard* had so order'd matters, that the Treaty was to be enter'd upon as  
between

between Kingdom and Kingdom, by which means the *Spaniards* would have been excus'd from making any formal acknowledgment of the King of *Portugal's* Title. This so disgusted the *Portugueses*, whose spirits had been mightily rais'd by their late Successes, and perhaps not a little by these large Promises from *France*, that they return'd back the Proposals without looking further then the Inscription, with a short Answer, that they never would have Peace with *Spain*, unless it were made between King and King.

The English Ambassador returning to *Madrid*, found the *Spaniards* become as High on their side, and utterly averse from renewing the Treaty; those fears which had been a great motive to them in advancing so far as they had gone already, were over for the present. They had been all along guessing at the true Design of those great Levies that the *French* were making, which notwithstanding all the *French* Protestations and Offers of Mediation, had given them terrible Apprehensions, and therefore that they might put themselves into some posture of Defence against so powerful an Aggressor, they had been prevail'd with to enter upon a Treaty with *Portugal*. But now they were of another mind, for a War was broken out of a sudden between *England* and *France*, which secured them for that time from any attempt of the *French* upon *Flanders*; and should this War continue, the *English* having the *Dutch* and *French* to deal with at the same time, might not be in a condition to send supplies to *Portugal*, and in case that Kingdom were once abandon'd by them, there might be hopes of reducing it again to the same state in which the *English* found it. But notwithstanding this Backwardness of the *Spaniards*, and the Occa-



sion of it, the *Portugueses* could not yet be brought to consent to the *French* League; for as great as their Danger was from the Enemy, they thought it seems they should run a greater risk by this Engagement with their pretended Friends. All Monsieur *de S Romain's* Rhetorick could not prevail with them to sign it this Year, though the *French* Interest had been much increased by the King of *Portugal's* Marriage, and the Arrival of fresh supplies from *France*; and their Fortune in the War instead of making any Progress, seem'd to be at a stand, or rather had receiv'd some very considerable checks this Year. But then they were unprovided with Moneys to bear the expenses of the next Campaign, and at a loss where to seek for a supply; the *French* indeed continued to make their large offers, but their kindness was look'd upon as the last Remedy, and to be accepted of only in a desperate Case; and when they thought that they must at last have recourse to it, yet to show that they would try all expedients first before they would come to an agreement with Mr. *de S. Romain*, they made their application for Money to the Court of *England*, as little in a condition, as they knew that Court to be, to furnish them after an expensive War with two most powerful Nations, and such great Calamities as beset us at home this and the foregoing Year, but no Money coming from *England*, they at last, viz. in the beginning of the Year 1667. yielded to the *French* Importunities, and agreed to the League.

The principal Conditions of this League were,  
 " That both Parties should have the same Friends  
 " and the same Enemies, *England* only excepted.  
 " That *France* should find as many Men as were  
 " necessary to carry on an Offensive War against  
 " *Spain*,

“ *Spain*, and all Sea-port Towns taken from the  
“ *Spaniards*, were to be delivered up to the *French*.  
“ *France* was to contribute by way of Loan one half  
“ of the pay due to the Auxiliary Troops, and give  
“ withal, by way of Loan likewise, the sum of  
“ 300000 Crowns *per Annum*. Neither Party was  
“ to treat of a Peace or a Truce without the con-  
“ sent of the other. And it was agreed that this  
“ League should last for the Term of ten Years.  
Had this League continued in force, it would have  
been to little purpose that the *Portugueses* with-  
drew their necks from the *Spanish* Yoak, and so  
bravely defended their Liberty as they had done in  
so long and tedious a War; for they had now in a  
manner chang'd Masters, and from being Subjects  
to *Spain*, had surrendered themselves up to the Di-  
cretion of the *French*, instead of seeing an end of  
their Miseries; they had now in all appearance ten  
Years of War behind still, and that not only a-  
gainst the *Spaniards*, but almost all the World be-  
sides, that is, all the Enemies that *France* should  
make, whose designs upon the Universal Monarchy,  
were then breaking out, and had they been suffer'd  
to go on, *England* would not have been long ex-  
cepted out of the Number. It may justly deserve  
ones Wonder, that so able and clear sighted a Mi-  
nister, as all Parties allow the *Conde de Castelmel-*  
*hor* to have been, should upon any account what-  
soever be prevail'd with, thus to sacrifice the Re-  
pose of his Country to the Ambition of Strangers;  
Possibly *Monfieur de S. Romain* might make his ad-  
vantage of the Disorders that the Court was in at  
that time, and the *Conde* see that the Faction which  
had been formerly against him, was grown to such  
a head, that the fury of the People when diverted  
from a Foreign Enemy, was like to turn upon himself



and his Master, and might therefore think of securing to himself a place of Retreat, when the Storm that was a gathering should break upon his Head. But if these were his thoughts he found himself afterwards much out in his measures, for whatsoever promises *France* might have made him when in Power, yet after his Fall, tho' he betook himself to that Kingdom, he staid not long there, but found himself oblig'd to seek for Refuge in another Country; and so far was he from securing himself at home by this unhappy League, that 'tis thought it did but hasten his Master's Ruin and his own, by increasing the Peoples murmurs against them. This is certain, his Enemies pretended that it was made in an undue manner, without either the Advice or Consent of the Council, or the three Estates, to the Violation, as they said, of the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom.

The *French* King having thus found Work for the *Spaniards* at home, while his Ambassador was assuring the Court of *Madrid*, that if there were any Faith in his Master, the *Pirenean* Treaty should be kept inviolable, began the so much celebrated Expeditions into *Flanders*, and the *Franche Comte* conquering all before him. The Success of his Arms was so astonishing to those that did not consider how he had laid his Designs, that the *English* and *Dutch* who were but lately come out of the destructive War, that they had been prosecuting against each other, took the Alarm, and together with the *Swede*, made the famous *Triple Alliance*, in order to oblige his most Christian Majesty to lay down his Arms. This made that King begin to show some Deference to Pope *Clement* the 9th's. Solicitation for a Peace, and it was agreed upon by the Parties concern'd, that a Congress of their Ministers should

should be held in order to adjust all Differences; of this Agreement the *French* King gives notice to his Ally the Prince Regent of *Portugal*, to the end that he should send thither his Plenipotentiary to act in concert with the *French* Minister.

And now to all appearance were the *Portugueses* in much the same condition as they had been at the *Pirenean* Treaty, having no other hopes of a Peace but what the *French* should procure for them; and what reason could they have to think otherwise, but that they should be sacrificed in the same manner as they were then, and sold for some of the controverted Places in *Flanders*? *Philipville* and *Marienburg* were their Price then, as such of their Writers that are most partial to *France* have declar'd to the World, possibly the *Spaniards* might bid higher for them now; and how could the *Portugueses* be sure that they would not be taken at their Word? They had the *French* Faith indeed for their security, and that engaged to them by the late League in a more solemn manner than formerly, but not in so solemn a manner as it had been given before to the *Spaniards*, when it was sworn in the manner before related, That *France* would wholly Cast them off, and not afford them the least Succors. They were promis'd its true, that if they would but put themselves wholly upon the *French*, and leave them to make their Peace, they should have such Conditions got for them, as were both advantageous and honourable; but then if *France* should think her self oblig'd to have greater regard to her own Interest and Conveniency, then to all other Engagements, (and that such a thing was possible some former Transactions had sufficiently proved.) In that case, why might the little Kingdom of *Sardinia* be once more thought to be a pretty



convenient Retreat for a King of *Portugal*, or the Office of Constable of *Castille* an honourable Employment for a Duke of *Bragança*? But in case *France* should think it convenient, to continue her self, or keep *Portugal* embroil'd in the War; then all that the *Spaniards* could give, or the *Portugueses* ask, might not be thought to be either honourable or safe, it was not thought so upon Tryal as shall be made appear anon.

But however, the *Portugueses* had now their Hands tied up, and could do nothing towards their own Relief. To the *French* they had given themselves, and for any thing they saw, to the *French* they must Trust. The Prince was consulting about the choice of a Minister, whom he should send as his Plenipotentiary to *Aix la Chapelle*, when on a sudden they receiv'd an unexpected Deliverance from these their pretended Friends, brought them by the same Hand that had rescued them, from their Victorious, though perhaps less Dangerous Enemies; but this likewise must be spoken of in another Chapter.

These are the most memorable Transactions that have passed between the two Crowns since that of *Portugal* hath been in the House of *Bragança*, and they afford us one Single instance of the so much talkt of *French* Friendship, viz. the sending of their Troops into that Kingdom upon conclusion of the *Pirenean* Treaty; an action which the *French* of all People in the World should be the last to remember; they were ashamed as they had a great deal of reason, to own it at the Time, and the success that attended their Auxiliaries, hath given them little cause to glory in it since; but this kindness, if it was meant for such, has been more than out balanc'd by the hard usage which the *Portugueses* have met with at their hands, for certainly

tainly never were People so trick'd, abus'd and tri-  
fl'd withal, as the *Portugueses* were during the  
whole course of *Mazarin's* Ministry; never were  
Allies so dishonourably sacrific'd, as they were to  
an enrag'd Enemy at the *Pirenean* Treaty, for I  
think I have made it plain, that they were then  
design'd to be utterly abandon'd; and as for this  
last Business of the League and Treaty of Peace,  
the *French* could have no other regard to *Portugal*,  
than to make that Kingdom to its own great Pre-  
judice subservient to all their designs.

So that it must have been by other means than  
Offices of true Friendship, that the *French* have all  
along supported their Interest in *Portugal*, and ma-  
ny are of Opinion, that their Money hath had as  
free a course into this Kingdom, as into any other  
part of *Europe*. But other Instruments are like-  
wise made use of, and those of two very different  
kinds from each other; but considering the Genius  
of the *Portuguese* Nation, it is very hard to deter-  
mine which of them are the most likely to succeed.  
These are 1<sup>st</sup>. the Ladies that are continually  
sent hither to marry with Persons of Quality, who  
when they match out of their own Families, do  
usually supply themselves with Wives from *France*.  
and to say the truth, they have been furnish'd out  
of some of the best Houses in that Kingdom, and  
'tis reported, that the *French* King, to encourage  
these Alliances between the two Courts, allows  
every Lady a Portion, which perhaps contributes  
not a little to render them acceptable to the *Portu-  
guese* Nobility, who for the most part are not very  
easy in their Fortunes, and when they marry among  
themselves, have seldom any Money with their  
Wives, for in *Portugal* Blood serves instead of a  
Portion. It is hard to give a particular account,  
what



what services these Ladies do for the Crown of *France*, but the *Portuguese* Writer that sets forth his King's Pretensions to *Spain*, gives a broad hint of what may be expected from them; for he says, that of the several methods used by the *French*, to gain their ends upon those they have to deal with, that of sending *French* Wives to govern them is the most infallible; and that they have found this a surer way to succeed, than all inveigling Perswasions or specious appearances of Advantage, and that it excels the force even of secret Bribes; for as he saith, they in Consequence of their having married *French* Women, shall be so bewitched, that seeing and knowing they shall seek their own Ruin, as if led thereto by a fatal kind of Necessity. It is true, this *Portuguese* speaks in the Person of a *Spanish* Noble Man, and lays the Scene in that Court, where I believe there are as yet but very few if any such Marriages, so that there is cause to suspect, that he speaks so feelingly from the Experience of his own Country. However by his leave, one that looks upon things at some distance, may be tempted to question whether the force of these *Syren's* Charms be altogether so irresistible as he makes it; for *Portugal* it self where they are more numerous than in any other Country, stands yet undestroyed since their first coming in, which is now more than thrice ten Years; and indeed should we suppose the Sex to have never so ardent a Zeal for the Grandeur of their Monarch, one would think it should be not a little cool'd in such as are thus sacrific'd to his Interests, and sent in perpetual Banishment to so hideous a Country as *Portugal* must needs appear to them that have been accustomed to the Gallantrys of a *French* Court. But granting that the great Monarch by procuring Husbands for these Ladies,  
doth

doth most strongly engage them to his Service, he by the same means disoblige a great many others, and renders them highly disaffected to His Majesty, viz. the Ladies of the Country, who as 'tis said, do not spare to make most bitter Complaints of the wrong done them, by this intrusion of Foreigners; and Jealousie, together with those other Passions that usually accompany it, have no doubt as great an Influence upon them, as Loyalty and Gratitude have upon the others: And the *Portuguese* Women, if they do not belie their Character, are as subtle and intriguing, as the *French* can be: Should they in revenge once take to Politicks, why may they not Cabal together, and form their Faction too? Did they once set about it, there is no doubt but they have power enough left, to make a Party of their own amongst the *Fidalgo's* that shall be able to make head against that of their Rivals.

Together with the Ladies the Jesuits are reckon'd most zealous Promoters of the *French* Cause; these Fathers as the World knows very well, have been always Men of Intrigue, since their very first appearance, and the greatest Monarchs have thought fit to make use of them, in carrying on their Designs. In the last Age, the *Spaniards* had them wholly at their Devotion, and *Philip* the 2d. was much obliged to the Society on many accounts, and more particularly for their clearing his way to the Throne of *Portugal*; had it not been for them, it is thought that K. *Henry* the Cardinal had according to Justice and his own Inclinations, settled the Crown in the House of *Bragança*, but King *Philip* was then more in Favour with the Society, and therefore was the Crown reserved for him. But as the whole Order hath sometimes since chang'd Sides, and come over to the *French*, these in *Portugal* have  
not



not been behind the rest, and are now supposed to serve that Party in this Court, with as much Zeal as any of their Order do elsewhere; some may perhaps be apt to accuse the Society of Inconstancy on this occasion, but if any do so, it is certainly without Reason, for these Fathers are still what they were from the very Beginning. The Fortunes of *Spain* and *France* are alter'd, but not the Jesuits, they continue firm to their Principles; it was for the Interests of the Society in the last Age, as it is in this, to gain the Favour of such as had the greatest Power, the *Spaniards* had it then, and the *French* have it now; and therefore *Louis* the 14<sup>th</sup>. is to them what *Philip* the 2<sup>d</sup>. was. Since the *Spanish* Monarchy hath been falling to Ruin, it was time for them to make their Court elsewhere, for it is not to be thought that they have less Sagacity than those Animals who are ready to quit a decay'd Building when its fall is at hand.

But that which is most to be admired in the Conduct of these Fathers is, that notwithstanding their being look'd upon as little better than Spys to those aspiring Princes that have bid fairest for the Universal Monarchy, they have yet manag'd their Affairs with that Dexterity, as to maintain their Ground as long as they thought convenient in all other Courts, even those not excepted that were like to suffer first, when ever the Design should take effect; several instances might be given of this admirable Address of theirs in keeping in with all Parties, both in the last and the present Age, were I not to confine my self to *Portugal*. In this Court, they have enjoyed an uninterrupted Reign from the time of *Simon Rodriguez*, one of the first Companions of *Loyola*, and the first Jesuit that enter'd *Portugal*. He getting into Favour with *John* the 3<sup>d</sup>. laid the Foundations of  
their

their greatness in this Kingdom; in *Sebastian's* time the Jesuits govern'd all, and the Blame is laid at their doors I know not how justly, of the lamentable Destruction wherein that ill advis'd Prince involv'd both himself and his Kingdom; yet notwithstanding this, King *Henry* the Cardinal was wholly at their Devotion. When the *Spaniards* got possession of this Crown, none were more zealous in their Cause than the Jesuits: Yet when Fortune began to frown upon them, and the present King's Father regain'd his Right, the Jesuits were ready immediately to assert his Title, and that not only to this Crown, but to all the World besides (by way of Prophecy I mean, for in Effect they are doing what they can to procure their so much talk'd of Fifth Monarchy for another Prince) and in all the Revolutions and Turns of State that have happened since, it was sure to be their Side, which soever it was, that chanc'd to come uppermost.

In the present Court, their Power is certainly very great, they having all along had the Direction of the Kings and both the Queens Consciences, so that considering how religiously disposed his *Portuguese* Majesty is, and his misfortune in having been so Educated, that his improvements in Knowledge have not kept pace with his other great Accomplishments, their Advice must necessarily go a great way with him, I find in a Memoire written by one, who seems well acquainted with the Secrets of this Court, that the Jesuits have a great Influence, not only over His Majesty, but over the Ministers likewise, who are said to be obliged to these Fathers for the great share they have in the Government, and that one who hath the Address to get into Favour with their Reverences, which is done by enlarging on the Praises of the Society,

may



may make a very good use of them in any Business depending at Court, provided that it doth not clash with the Interest of *France*; for it seems they have always an eye to that which is now the grand concern of the Society. My Author gives one signal Instance of their Zeal and Affection to the *French* Party, which shows them to be capable of any thing in order to promote that, even to the sacrificing of all other Interests, it being of a Design, which had it taken effect, must have outed the present Ministers from Court, or at least abated much of their Power; for it was to bring the *Conde de Castelmelhor* into Business again, and that because they know him, saith my Author, to be well affected to *France*. I cannot tell upon what grounds the *Conde* is thought to be so inclin'd, he was indeed a kind of a Martyr for the *French* Cause; for the League before mention'd is thought to have been in part the occasion of his Fall. But his being obliged after all that he had suffer'd for them to take Sanctuary in *England*, where he was honourably entertain'd, and had a noble Pension assign'd him, should as one would think have inclin'd him another way; its true, his eldest Son the *Conde de Calbeta* hath married a *French* Lady, but that was since the Design I am speaking of was set on foot. But however this be, the Jesuits no doubt hop'd for some extraordinary advantage from his re-admission into Court, since they durst venture to offend the *Conde's* great Rival the Duke of *Cavadal*, from whom they were to look for a most Powerful Opposition. But as the Attempt was great, the way they took to effect it, was somewhat surprizing, for the Queen by the advice of Father *Fues* her Confessor, was to use her endeavours with the King to bring it about. It is no wonder that Father *Fues*,  
being

being a Jesuit, though a *German*, should desire the advancement of one engag'd in the *French* Interest; yet it is somewhat strange, that a Daughter of the *Palatine* Family should so far forget her Father's House, as to concern her self in such a Cause. But they that are acquainted with the Intrigues of the Society, will not wonder to see those carrying on their designs, who in appearance should have the greatest reason to oppose them. My Author who seems to be a very intelligent Person, and who as I had it from a good hand, was both a Countryman and a Servant to her Majesty, saith, that the Business was brought so far to a head, that the Queen waited only for the time, when her Confessor should think it proper for her to break it to the King. How it came to miscarry I know not, but it seems to be now wholly laid aside, for the *Conde* has not yet appear'd at Court, and it was about 1691. that this Business was in Agitation, since which time the Duke of *Cadaval* hath by the Marriage of his Son, to the King's natural Daughter, establish'd himself at Court more firmly than ever.

The *French* then having such Powerful Agents at the Court of *Portugal* as are the Ladies and the Jesuits, tho' their Interest there be very considerable, yet it is some wonder that it is not much greater, as without doubt it would be, were there not so wise a Prince on the Throne, as his present Majesty. It cannot be denied, but that the *French* Artifices in representing the late War, as rais'd and carried on upon a religious account, have prevail'd much, and that not only among the common People, but with them likewise that are in a much higher Station, and have had in a great measure their design'd effect, in byassing Peoples minds to the prejudice of the Allies. It is reported of a  
cer-



certain very great Lady, that when the News came to *Lisbon* of a great Disaster likely to befall some of the Allies upon the Coasts of *Portugal*, she could not forbear expressing her satisfaction in a most unusual manner, That *the Hereticks were confounded*. But there are not wanting among them some so much wiser than the rest, as to see through the *French* Artifices, and perceive that all this trouble that they give World, hath some other end in it, than the advancement of their Religion, and there are those that will not stick to give our King his just Titles, of *Europes Deliverer*, and the *Restorer of Liberty to Mankind*. As for the King himself, he is certainly not insensible of his own true Interest, I have good grounds to believe that the Levies he was making in 1693. were design'd to help forward the common Cause, and had actually march'd towards *Catalonia*, had he not been assur'd from his Ministers abroad, that the *French* were earnestly soliciting for a Peace, and that the Fortune of the War had not turned so much to the disadvantage of the Allies, as to make them want his Assistance. And few I believe doubt, but that the Forces now on foot have been rais'd, upon a like design, should there be occasion for them; this Court being by this convinc'd what little account is to be made of *French* Protestations of Friendship, and where they are like to end, of these they have had as great or a greater share than any other People, and they find themselves now to be first mark'd out for Destruction, for while they are caress'd by the *French* Ministers at *Versailles* and *Lisbon*, those of the same Nation are again making a Sacrifice of them at *Madrid*, at least if the Author of the Paper concerning the King's Pretensions

tensions to *Spain*, supposed to have been written by order of this Court be rightly inform'd; for there we find among other Conditions offer'd to the *Spaniards* in behalf of the Duke of *Anjou*, the Re-union of *Portugal* to the Crown of *Spain*, propos'd for one; so that the *Portugueses* find it high time for them to look to themselves, and in all appearance, they will leave nothing unattempted to bring about that Re-union, though in a different manner than is propos'd by *France*.

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OF THE  
INTERESTS  
OF  
PORTUGAL,

With Relation to the  
*Emperor, Holland, the Northern  
Crowns, &c.*

Till of late Years there hath been little or no intercourse between *Portugal* and the Court of *Vienna*; the reason of this strangeness was the cruel Treatment of *Dom Duarte*, Prince of *Bragança*, and Uncle to the present King: This Prince at the Acclamation of his Brother King *John* the 4<sup>th</sup>. had been eight Years in the Emperor's Service, and was in the Post of a Major General, under *Piccolomini*, and as it is said, he had signaliz'd himself with great Courage, in the War against the *Swedes*; but he having no notice given him of his Brother's design, the *Spanish* Ministers at *Vienna* as soon as the news of the Revolt came thither, procured a secret Order from the Emperor *Ferdinand* the 3<sup>d</sup>.  
to

to have him arrested by way of Reprizal, for what his Brother had taken from them, and to please them, this innocent Prince was by a manifest violation of the Liberties of the Empire, and the Honour of the *German Nation*, kept Prisoner for some time at *Gratz*, and afterwards sold to the *Spaniards* for the sum of Forty Thousand Crowns, and was by them carried away to the Castle of *Milan*, where he was shut up for the remainder of his life, he ending his days there after eight years of Confinement. This dishonourable Act of the Emperor begat such a coldness between the two Courts of *Vienna* and *Lisbon*, that there had been no Communication between them till of late Years; the first advance towards a Correspondence by all that I can learn, was not made till the Year 1683. when at the Pope's instance, King *Peter* contributed a large supply of Money towards the Expences of the War against the *Turks*. But his Marriage afterwards with one so nearly Related to the House of *Austria*, as her late Majesty was, laid the Foundation of a solid Friendship, and it was generally expected, that this Match would have brought the King wholly over to the *Austrian* Interest; it was thought that there was something of a Negotiation on foot, to engage him on that side in the beginning of the last War, viz. in 1689. when the Count *de Mansfield* employed in the Business of the King of *Spain's* second Marriage, took *Lisbon* in his way from *Madrid* to *Nieubourg*, and the *French* Ambassador seem'd to have smelt out some such thing, and thereupon by way of Revenge, found means to mortify both the King and the Count. For the King having ordered one of his Ships to be got ready for the Count to Embark upon, the Ambassador took occasion to acquaint His Majesty,



that the Count *de Mansfield*, being a Minister of the Emperor, and one of his Generals, there was cause to fear that the Ship which carried him would be attack'd by *French* Men of War, which might occasion some distast between his most *Christian* and his *Portuguese* Majesty; the King was fain to hearken to the Admonition, and digest the Menace rather than expose himself to a greater Insult, perceiving I suppose, that the Ambassador saw plain enough that he was not in a condition to resent it. wherefore the Count was left to provide a Ship for himself, however the King order'd two of his Frigats to convoy him to the mouth of the Channel.

As the War was drawing towards a conclusion, the King sent a most splendid Embassy to *Vienna*, at the same time when he sent another to the *French* Court, as it was thought to interpose his good Offices towards the drawing on of the Peace. Nor did the disgrace which befel the *Portuguese* Ambassador to his Imperial Majesty, break off the Correspondence between the two Courts, the Emperor seeming now resolved to have his Ministers constantly Resident at *Lisbon*, having never before had any such since the House of *Bragança* was possess'd of the Crown; it is much for the Interest of both Parties to have a good understanding together, whilst the cause of the Succession of *Spain* is depending, for though in regard to that affair, they have different ends in view, yet they are both alike concern'd to act in concert, till the greatest and most difficult point be gain'd which is the Exclusion of *France*.

With the *Dutch* this Court hath had a fair and amicable Correspondence ever since the Year 1669. when all differences were made up that had broken ut since the Peace with that Nation in 1662. of which

which I shall say nothing here, since it would oblige me to give an account of the preceding War, which would take up more room than can be now spared.

There seems to be little or no Communication between this and the two *Northern* Crowns; the great distance between them being the cause that they have seldom any thing to do with one another, all the Business the *Danes* and *Swedes* have here, being about the Trade for Salt, which they load yearly at *Setubal*, but this is easily managed by the Consuls.

The deserved Esteem this King had for the great *Sobieski*, and the Marriage of Prince *James* his Son with the Queen's Sister, afforded matter for some Reciprocal Compliments between them; but there was a difficulty in the Ceremonial which would not permit them to have this little Intercourse together. The King of *Poland* in his Letter, named himself first, which this Court could not bear, and therefore refused to receive the Letter, because that King is only the Head of a Republick, whereas his Majesty of *Portugal* is an Absolute Sovereign. The present King of *Poland's* Envoy, when he came to *Lisbon* to notify his Master's advancement to that Crown, could not be received nor admitted to Audience for the same Reason, and not as some thought, for that this King refus'd to acknowledge his Master or disapprov'd of his Election.

The Princes of *Germany* and *Italy* can have very little to do here, and therefore little notice is taken of them; the Elector *Palatine* himself having no Minister residing at Court. The Elector of *Brandenbourg* indeed hath his Resident, but that is more for the Honour and Security of the Person, than on account of any Business, he being a considerable



*French Merchant of the Religion.* I have not heard that since the Business of the *Infanta's* Marriage, any thing hath past between this Court and those of *Savoy* and *Florence*. The Duke of *Parma* hath had his Envoy here upon Offices of Ceremony, I suppose upon account of his Relation to the Royal Family, he being descended from a Daughter of *Dom Emanuel*, that was eldest Sister to her, in whose right the House of *Bragança* lays claim to the Crown, and consequently he would have an undoubted Right thereto, were he not excluded by the Laws of *Lamego*

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OF THE  
INTERESTS  
OF  
PORTUGAL,  
With Relation to  
ENGLAND.

I Believe there are no People in the World that have valued themselves less upon their Friendship to the *Portugueses*, or deserved more at their Hands than the *English*, I should have placed them first, had I rank'd the rest according as they merit in the Esteem of this Nation; for they well deserve to be reckon'd, and that in the chief place among the Founders, the Protectors, and the Restorers of the Kingdom. They have certainly been the surest and most dis-interess'd Friends to it, almost from the time when *Portugal* first became a Nation, to the Establishment of the now Reigning Family upon the Throne. And in truth, the ancient *Portugueses* have shown so much Gratitude, that there remain in this Country several Memorials



of the *English* Generosity and Valour, that have been forgotten by our selves, and are over look'd by our own Writers; but of late we have not had the like reason to commend their Justice, though our Nation in the present Age, as great as the Merits of our Ancestors were, hath deserv'd no less at their Hands. Their Ancient Writers set forth at large, how great a share the *English* had in the first raising of their Kingdom, and how they have since more then once rescued it from Destruction, and there are those yet alive among them, that know very well how their Deliverance from utter Ruin, and that Liberty and Peace which they now enjoy, is owing to the Bravery of our Soldiers, and the Prudence of our Ministers; but their late Writers have not been so Ingenuous as to deliver what they knew to Posterity.

It will not be expected that in so short a space as is left me, I should give a particular Account of these Transactions; however, I shall briefly touch upon some of those that have pass'd in former Ages, as they are related by the *Portuguese* Historians, hoping that it will not be altogether ungrateful to the *English* Reader, to hear News from Foreigners, as old as it is concerning his own Country Men: And some mention must be made of what the *English* have done of late Years for *Portugal*, and that both in Justice to those, who by their Wisdom or their Courage, have contributed its present Establishment; and to excite such as are more able, or may have better Opportunities to do it, to retrieve the Memory of many signal Actions perform'd here by our Country Men, which as great and important as they were; they that enjoy the Benefit of them, seem now resolv'd to Bury in silence.

It is agreed by the *Portuguese* Writers, the Modern as well as the Ancient, that the *English* had a great hand in the Conquest of *Lisbon* from the *Mores*, whereby *Portugal* came to deserve the name of a Kingdom. They say indeed, that *Alfonso Henriquez* chang'd his Title of *Count* or *Prince* for that of *King*, immediately after the Vision of *Ourique* before mention'd, but possibly the story of that Vision may not be true; and this is certain, that the three Estates of the Kingdom in their Remonstrance to *Innocent* the 10th. affirm from their Chronicles, that this Prince would not accept of the Crown, till it was made Tributary to the See of *Rome*, which was not done till many Years after the taking of *Lisbon*, yiz. not before 1179. when Pope *Alexander* the 3d. by his Bull still extant, conferr'd upon him the Title and Dignity of *King*. In their Account of the Conquest of this City, the *Portuguese* Authors tell us, that in the Year 1147. a great Fleet from *England*, compos'd of several Nations, and bound for the Holy Land, under the Command of *William Longspee*, passing by the Rock of *Sintra*. *Alfonso Henriquez* so dealt with the Leaders, that they agreed to stand in to the *Tagus*, and joyn with him in laying Siege to *Lisbon*, on condition that one half of the City when gain'd, should be given up to them: Accordingly the City was taken after a Siege of five Months, and the slaughter of 200000 *Mores*. *Alfonso* offer'd to make good the Agreement, and put them in Possession of their part of the City, and to make an equal Division with them of all that was taken, both within and without it, which they generously refus'd to accept of; since as they said, they had not left their Country to get Riches, but were engaged in a more glorious Design, and withall they did



did not think it becoming them to enjoy a Sovereignty within another Prince's Dominions; and so having accepted of a small share of the Spoils, they proceeded on in their Voyage. I will not undertake for the several Circumstances of this Story, for I believe some of them are not true; I believe there will be no Account found among those that have written of the Holy War of any such Expedition made this Year, and the famous Earl of *Salisbury*, if he be the Person meant by *Guilbelme de longa Espada* was not yet Born; and for many reasons we cannot allow the Account of the slain, one is, because *Lisbon* was then scarce big enough to hold so many. The present Inhabitants cannot be suppos'd to exceed much that Number, but the Walls that are now standing, and were not built till 1375. though they contain but a part of the City, are of a much larger compass than those that stood at the time of the Siege. The Strangers had then their Camp upon the Hill, where the Monastery of *St. Francesco*, and the Church of the *Martyrs* stand, which are now in the very heart of the City, and the *Portuguese* Camp on the other side was, where the Church of *San Vincente* is now, which is within the present Walls, though it hath still the Name of *San Vincente de Fora*, because it was formerly without the City. In effect, the ancient City of *Lisbon* was not of a much larger compass than that of the Hill on which the Castle of *St. George* now stands, so that they that know any thing of the Place, will never think that 200000 People could be killed at the taking of it, supposing every Soul to have been put to the Sword. However, that *Lisbon* was taken this Year, and that by the Assistance of the *English* and other Strangers, is agreed upon by the *Spanish*, as well as the *Portuguese*

*guesse* Historians; I suppose they were Soldiers of Fortune, as *Mariana* seems to intimate, whom *Alfonso Henriquez* had invited thither with hopes of Booty and a share of the Conquests. And it is not likely that they refused the Reward promis'd them whatever it was, on account of their being engag'd in the Holy War, for there remain'd so many of them in the Country, that the want of them would doubtless have broke that Voyage; for those that stay'd had the Towns of *Almada*, *Povos*, *Villa Franca*, *Villa Verde*, *Azambuja*, *Arruda Lourinham*, and several other Places assign'd them, which according to the *Portuguese* Historians were all Peopled by these strangers. *Almada* which is a small Town with a Castle on a Hill, formerly very strong, situated on the other side of the River over against *Lisbon*, took its Name as these Authors will have it, from an *English* Expression which they write *Vimad-el qu. We made [Ye] all*: But if the word must needs be of an *English* Original, one should rather think it came from a more modest Expression, viz. we are *All made*. They tell likewise, that the Lords of the Place who took their Name from thence, pretended always to be of *English* Extraction; and that for this reason, those of the Family have on several Occasions receiv'd great Honours in that Kingdom. *Povos* which is a Town Situated upon the River about four Leagues above *Lisbon*, was as they say, anciently called *Cornovalha*, from its being Peopled by *Cornish* Men, and afterwards corruptly *Cornaga*, by which last name, I find the Place called above 200 Years afterwards, possibly the reason of its being left off, may be the great abhorrence which the *Portuguese*s have for the first Syllable of it, which a well bred Man amongst them will never pronounce upon any account. The  
Name



Name it hath now is the common Word for Villages. In fine, it seems to be almost as usual in *Portugal*, for such as would become of better Families then ordinary, to derive their Pedigree from these Strangers that were at the taking of *Lisbon*, as it is with us to have our Ancestors come in with *William* the Conqueror. Such of them as continued at *Lisbon*, had very great Priviledges and Immunities allowed them, as well they might, if one half of the City was their own by Compact, and the best part of the Kingdom, as the *Termo* of *Lisbon* certainly is, was owing to their Valour. The Licentiate *Duarte Nunes de Lian*, who was a Judge, and consequently must be suppos'd to understand the Constitutions of his Country, Reports that these Privileges were continued, not only to the Descendants, from the first Conquerors, but to the Persons and Merchandizes of such of their Country Men, as should resort thither; and he saith likewise, that the succeeding Kings confirm'd and observ'd them to his time, he wrote in the Year 1600. I have seen a large Collection of Priviledges granted by the several Kings of *Portugal* to the *English*, beyond those enjoy'd by the *Portuguese* Subjects, I know not whether I may call them *Charters*. These were copied from the Archives of the Kingdom, in the *Torre de Tumbo*, but the most ancient was of King *Ferdinand*, whose Reign began not till 1367. There are several of *John* the 1<sup>st</sup>. his Successor, some of which refer to others granted by his Predecessors.

By this it appears that the *English* had a great hand in setting up the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and if the Historians of this Country deceive us not, they had as great a share in Protecting and Securing it, as often as it hath been brought into Danger

ger by a Foreign Enemy. Twice it was like to be wholly over-run by the *Castillians*, who had possessed themselves of the greatest part of the Kingdom, and gain'd a numerous Party of the Nobility over to their side, and had been very near taking *Lisbon* it self; the first time in the Reign of *Ferdinand*, the last of the lawful Descendants from *Alfonso Henriquez*, the other time while *John* the 1<sup>st</sup>. from whom all that have succeeded him derived their Titles, was struggling for the Crown; and they have been as often reliev'd by the *English*, and enabled to carry the War into the Enemies Country, our Princes of the Blood condescending to go in Person to their Assistance; first *Edmund de Langley* then Earl of *Cambridge*, and afterwards *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*. And if after the several flourishing Reigns that succeeded, they were at last reduc'd under the *Spanish* Yoke, it was because they were wanting to themselves, the *English* having sent out a Gallant Fleet, and Army to their Rescue, under *Dom Antonio*, whom they had made their King, but they would not accept Deliverance, and so they remain'd under the Power of their Enemies.

In the last War after the *French* had given them up, or assisted them in such a manner as they should not own without Confusion, when all *Europe* looked upon their Ruin as inevitable, some of the most considerable Persons in the Kingdom, being so far of the same Opinion, that they thought it now high time for them to save themselves, and make their Peace with the *Spaniards*, as the Duke of *Aveiro* and their Ambassador in *Holland* who went over to them; Cardinal *Mazarin* making himself merry with our *Locker* at the Folly of all the rest, for not doing the same, and for thinking it possible for  
them



them to hold out longer; *Don Luis de Haro*, who was not accounted Sanguin, making nothing of the little Expedition that his Master was about against the Duke of *Bragança*, for after this rate he is reported to have talk'd to King *Charles* the 2<sup>d</sup>. at the *Pirenees*: Those small Forces sent by King *Charles* after his Restoration, by their unparallel'd Valour, soon put an end to the Quarrel, and the Victories obtain'd by their Means, being seconded as they were by the Vigilance Dexterity and Conduct of the same King's Ministers, recover'd *Portugal* and restor'd it to the condition in which it now remains.

These Forces consisted of about 3000 Men, formed into three Regiments, two of Foot which made near 2400, and one of Horse of about 800. They were at first Commanded by the Earl of *Inchiquin*, but his Lordship returning to *England* before they took the Field, they were by Commission from the King of *England*, put under the Conduct of Count *Schomberg*, who had himself the immediate Command of one of the foot Regiments. They arriv'd in *Portugal* soon after *Don John* had made an end of that successful Campaign, before mention'd in 1662. and were dispos'd of into Quarters till the following Spring, when they joyn'd the *Portuguese* Army in order to relieve *Evora*, but in their March towards that City, they were met with the News of its being surrender'd without Resistance in a manner, and upon very Dishonourable Terms, though it had in it a Garrison of 7000 Foot and 700 Horse, and was provided with all things necessary for a stout Defense, till such time as the Army should come up and attempt to raise the Siege. The News of this loss so struck the Commanders of the Army, that 'tis no wonder it should  
put

put the People into that consternation before described. The *Conde de Villa Flor* the Gen. was so discouraged, that his concern appear'd to the very Soldiers in his Looks, which our Men who had been used to see their Commanders so Dejected observ'd with Indignation. A Council of War being called, it appear'd that the Army was in no condition to fight the Enemy, and it was resolv'd not to attempt it as bad as their Case was. Something might have been done had *Evora* held out, they relying upon the Garrisons, falling at the same time, when they should attack the Besiegers: But the Garrison was now made Prisoners of War, so it was resolv'd that they should encamp themselves at a Place call'd *Landroal*, which lay so between the Enemies Frontier Places, that they might cut off any convoys of Provisions coming from thence. *Don John* in the mean while having possess'd himself of so Great and Populous a City in the very heart of *Alemtejo*, became thereby Master in a manner of the whole Province, and was providing for his Army at his Enemies Cost, by putting all the Country under Contribution, for which end and to gave the greater Alarm to *Lisbon*, whereby to increase the Tumult there, he sent that large Detachment before mention'd, as far as *Alcacere do Sal*. The Court at this time apprehending no less Danger from the Multitude than the Enemy, and seeing the Affairs of *Portugal* to be in all respects desperate, was continually sending Orders to the Commanders to fight at any rate; the Army at last being reinforc'd with what Troops other parts of the Kingdom could send, or the Garrisons spare, march'd towards the *Spaniards*, hoping to find them divided, but not being able to hinder their Detachments from joyning the main Body, they were for retiring again. *Don John* follow'd



at their Heels to give them Battle, but they had pass'd a small River, call'd *Degebe*, before he came up with them, and they had posted themselves so advantageously, that there were but two Passes through which he could come to Attack them. That where the *Portugueses* thought the greatest Danger was, it being in its self the easiest to be forc'd, was defended by one of the *English* Regiments. *Don John* made his greatest Efforts to gain it, and there ensued a very hot Dispute, for at several times he sent in fresh Troops to renew the Charge, which were as often repulsed with loss, so that he was oblig'd at last to desist from the Attempt, *Don John* found now that he had other Enemies to deal with then those he had hitherto been used to. Being frustrated of his Design, he put a Garrison into *Evora*, and began to march towards the Frontiers, where he expected to be re-inforced with fresh Supplies, in order to return and both secure and enlarge his Conquests. The *Portugueses* began now to take Courage, and perceiving *Don John's* design, being press'd withal by repeated Orders from Court to Fight, directed their March the same way in order to wheel about and get before him, which they might easily do, having secur'd their heavy Baggage at *Estremos*, whereas the *Spanish* Army was much incumber'd with Carriages. However, the March of the *Portuguese* Army was so hasty, that as the *Conde da Ericeyra* saith, the *English* bore both, that and the heat of the Sun, with Impatience. Its true, the Toil which our Country Men under went at that time was very great, but least any should gather from that Expression, that they show'd any great Backwardness in the service, I shall tell the occasion of it, which his Lordship is pleas'd to omit.

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The two Armies were at a small distance over against each other, both making what hast they could to pass a River (*Tera*) before the Night that preceded the Battle of *Amexial*. The *English* being in the Rear of the *Portuguese* Army, I suppose, because that was to become the Front when they got before the Enemy; as Evening drew on, the Alarm was taken in the Front, that the Enemy was at hand, but then the *English* were at a great distance from that part where the Action was like to be, and without them it seems nothing was to be done; Orders were thereupon given for them to Advance with all speed, which they did as fast as 'twas possible for them to run throughout the whole length of the Army. Their eagerness to engage with the Enemy, and their Pride no doubt to see so many thousands of Armed Men look upon them as their Guardians, spurring them on beyond their strength, insomuch that several of them thro' Heat and want of Breath, fell by the Way and some were lost; but by that time they came up, the Alarm ceas'd, and there was nothing for them to do, as 'twas well there was not, for as some of the Officers have assur'd me, the Men were so Faint, and Weary, as to become altogether unfit for Action; such was the occasion of the Impatience taken Notice of by the Noble Author in his Account of this days March.

The next day the *Spaniards* by reason of their slow March occasion'd by their heavy Luggage, put it in the Power of the *Portugueses* to oblige them to Fight. As the Armies came in sight of each other, the *English* Horse with a Party of *Portugueses* were commanded to dislodge several Battallions of the Enemy, that had possessed themselves of a rising Ground, which the *Portugueses* thought necessary



for them, in case they should come to a Battle. They did not only do as they were Ordered, by driving those Batallions from the Hill, but they followed them into the Plain on the other side, and found themselves insensibly engag'd in a hot Skirmish with the whole Body of the *Spanish* Cavalry, that was conducting the Carriages towards another Hill a League off, where their Foot had already posted themselves; but they were so surpris'd and disorder'd by this sudden Attack, that had our Men been seconded as 'twas expected they should be from the Army, 'twas thought they might have put them intirely to the Rout. Count *Schöenberg* saw what Advantage was to be made of the Confusion he perceived them in, and was marching towards them in all hast with such of the Cavalry as were near at hand; but giving notice of what he was doing to the *Conde de Villa Flor*, He in all hast sent positive Orders to command him back, possibly for no other Reason but to keep up the Custom of Thwarting the Count, who had hitherto been oppos'd in almost every Motion he made. The *Portuguese* Commanders seeming resolv'd to spare the Enemy, or give him any Advantage over them, rather then suffer the Count to know more of their Trade then themselves, which without Question was one Reason of their former Losses, as the Deference they paid him afterwards was of the Success that follow'd. The Count obey'd the General's Orders, though with some Reluctancy, but it was not long before he took the liberty to act more of his own Head, and thereby saved *Portugal*.

The *Portugueses* possessed themselves of the rising Ground, from whence the *Spaniards* had been beaten; they on the other side retir'd to two opposite Hills, drawing up the Horse in a large Plain,

at the bottom of that on the right Hand, and their Foot on the tops of both, planting a Battery of four Guns on each. Till three a Clock in the Afternoon, they spent the time on both sides in Canoning each other, and some light Skirmishes, without doing any considerable Dammage on either side; but by this time it was observ'd, that the *Spaniards* fired more slowly then before, and played but four Guns of Eight that they began with, which made the *Portugueses* suspect them to be designing (as they were) to draw off and continue their March; hereupon it was debated in a Council of War, what was to be done in the Case: They had positive Orders from the King and the *Conde de Castlemelhor*, to Fight upon the first occasion, which they had great cause to dispair of ever being able to do, should Don *John* give them the slip at this time, and be re-inforc'd with the Troops that were ready for him on the Frontiers. On the other side, the *Spaniards* had so placed themselves, that there was no Fighting with them, but at great Disadvantage; their Horse which were double in Number to the *Portuguese*, being six thousand to three, had a large Plain before them, and in regard to the Foot, their Advantage was much greater, yet not on account of their Number indeed, for the *Portugueses* had Eleven Thousand to Ten of theirs. But they had so Fortified themselves upon one of the Hills, or rather Nature had done it for them, that Don *John* thought he could not have found a better, or more secure Place of Arms, as he told the King his Father, in a Letter after the Battle, in which he compar'd it to the Castle of *Milan*, adding, that he thought himself so safe there, that he was almost asham'd of his over great Precaution, and that the Enemy in mounting it, came scrambling

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bling up like so many Cats [ *Como Gateando.* ] But the truth is, his Highness did a little exaggerate the matter, as two of the Officers who commanded the Party that did this Feat, most ingenuously acknowledg'd, and thereby undeceiv'd me of an Error, who could think little otherwise of it then as a direct Precipice. Each of them severally affirming, that neither they nor their Men, made use of their Hands in mounting it; they said indeed, that it was very steep, but according to their Description, it could not be near so inaccessible as the *Spaniards* themselves have made it. However, these Difficulties weighed so much with the *Portuguese* Commanders, that the Council broke up without coming to any Resolution; But for all this Count *Schomberg* was never the less attentive in observing the Countenance and Motions of the Enemy, and carefully seeking about, where and how he might be attacked, when those that had been for Fighting in the Council, came about him, *Simon Vasconcellos*, more especially, who urged to him the repeated Orders of the King and his Brother the *Conde de Castelmellhor*, and it was agreed at last amongst them, even in the absence of the General ( one of them undertaking for him ) to bring it to a Battle; and as they were ranging the Cavalry in order, the Count took occasion to acquaint the General of what they resolv'd on, who now seem'd well enough satisfied, declaring that he for his part had been always for it.

The Fight began between the Horse on both sides, the *Portuguese* Left charging the *Spaniards* Right Wing; I cannot give any exact Account of the part which the *English* Horse had in this Action, not having had the opportunity to speak with any Eye-witnesses of their Conduct. However, those  
Officers

Officers from whom I received my Information concerning the Foot, have assured me, that the Horse on this occasion behaved themselves with the like Gallantry, as their Country men did in the other part of the Battle, to be spoken of presently : Though they had not the like success, they were commanded to begin the Charge, and renew it several times together, which they did with their accustomed Bravery, though they were oblig'd every time to leap a wide Ditch, wherein several of their Horses stuck, and the *French* who were to have sustained them, fired their Pistols at a distance, and then marched off and sheltered themselves under a Wall. But it seems our Horse met with their Match at this time, having to deal with a Body of Old *German* Troops, who had learnt the Trade as well as themselves ; for as 'tis said, they kept their Bullets till the *English* came close up to them, and were not to be easily broken by so small a Number.

While the Horse on both sides were engag'd in a fierce, and for sometime doubtful Fight, our Foot were facing the foremention'd inaccessible Hill, as the *Spaniards* thought it ; the *Portugueses* firing their Muskets at the Enemy, who was at so great a distance, that it was impossible to do any Execution. The *Spaniards* in the mean time playing with their Battery from the Hill, which did some Damage to the *English*, who were to the Left of the whole Army, killing four or five Men among their Pikes. Count *Schomberg* who as being the Author of this Battle, had a more than ordinary concern upon him for its success, was now every where giving Orders and Encouragement to the Officers and Soldiers ; he coming to the Left to animate his Country men, as he then called the *English*, to behave themselves as became them, found that not-



withstanding their Yesterdays Fatigue, the fight of the Enemy had made them Wanton, a thing as it must be confess'd usually observed in our Soldiers and Sea-men, when they are in hopes of an Engagement. These were become Proud before hand of their Buff-coats, which as they thought they saw on the Backs of the *Spaniards*, Don John's Guards being cloathed in Yellow. The Count hearing some of them Bragging how fine they should be, gave them a gentle Reproof, by telling them, that *the time to Boast was when the Armour was put off*; but seeing that the Enemies Cannon was like to prove troublesome to them where they stood, he ordered Lieutenant Colonel *Hunt*, who commanded them at that time to advance nearer the Hill to certain broken Houses, by which means the great Guns might shoot over them, and the Houses be a shelter to them from the small shot. When the Count left them, they marched as they were directed, the Enemy as they advanced nearer, firing most furiously upon them, though they received but little hurt, even after they were come within reach of the small Shot; the Officers suppos'd that the reason was, because the *Spaniards* firing so fast as they did, neglected to ram their Muskets, and that the Bullets tumbled out as they were aiming downwards, before they could give Fire; they were confirm'd in this Opinion, when they observ'd afterwards, that such as were wounded, had been shot in their upper Parts. When they came up to the Houses, it was found that they did not afford Covert for half their Men, and here the Soldiers began to grow impatient indeed; the Place seem'd hot, and the Enemy was near, and they thought it hard that they must stand there to be Pelted at, whilst they might be in Action, wherefore they were all for  
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having their Commander lead them on, and show'd so much eagerness to be up with the Enemy, that he resolv'd to gratify them, though he had no Orders for it; and so forward they marched through all the Fire and Smoak, that the *Spaniards* on the Hill could make. The Lieutenant Colonel commanding upon pain of Death, that none of his Men should fire till he gave the Word; when they were got up to the Brink, the three foremost Ranks were ordered to give fire at once, the first kneeling, the second stooping: The Soldiers took their aim so well, that this discharge was answered with a dismal hideous Groan from the dying *Spaniards*, but being seconded by another, the Rear half-files presently advancing and firing in the same manner, the Enemy began to give way in disorder, our Men perceiving their Business to be in a manner done, gave as loud a Shout as 'twas possible for them to make, and then fell in with the But-ends of their Muskets, and presently put them into Confusion, and in a short time entirely routed them beyond all possibility of Rallying, continuing the Pursuit for about a Mile, having made themselves Masters of the four pieces of Cannon, Don *John's* Tent and rich Baggage, and many of our Men look'd upon their Work as so far done, that they thought it high time to go to Dinner; for among other things, they had seiz'd upon Don *John's* Provisions, which they found just ready Dressed, and were falling to, but Count *Schomberg* soon found employment for them elsewhere.

This resolute Action of the *English* Foot occasion'd the famous Victory of *Amexial*, *Canal* or *Evo-ra*, for the Battle goes by all three of those Names; but the Author of the second Part of *Portugal*, *Restaurado* now lately publish'd, so orders the mat-



ter, as to communicate the Honour of it to his own Country men, and not content with that, he will scarce suffer the *English* to have any the least share in it. In his account of this Battle, he without taking notice of any preceding Action among the Foot, sets Himself and another General Officer at the Head of four Regiments, in order to march up the Hill, one of these he allows indeed to be *English*, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Thomas Hant*, but then he takes care to drop them by the way. Before they begin their March, the *Conde de Villa Flor* is brought in to make a florid Speech, which works so much upon them, that at the last Words they are in Motion; but the *English* being to the Left of all, and nearest the Plain where the Cavalry on both sides were engag'd, are attack'd by four hundred Horse with great Bravery. But they forming themselves into a close Body, the Firelocks keeping within the Pikes, make such Resistance by their repeated Discharges, that the *Three* Regiments led on by the two Commanders, continue their March unmolested. In ascending the Hill they think fit that they might make sure work of it, to send a single Officer to see whether the Enemy might not have some Horse there to oppose them. The Officer does as he is ordered, making his way through Clouds of Bullets, as the Author expresses it, takes a full view of the Place, and sees no Horse there; with this Answer he encourages them to make up to the Top, and then the *Three* Regiments act over again the very same things which (as it hath hitherto been believ'd) the *English* had done before.

This Account Publish'd, as it is, under the Name of *Dom Luis de Menezes*, who was himself in the Battle as General of the Artillery, and doubtless acquitted

quitted himself therein with Honour, and afterwards had the Title *Conde da Ericeyra*, must at first sight infallibly shake the Credit of the foregoing Relation, if not intirely destroy it; and so put our Country men out of Possession of an Honour, which till the latter end of last Year, they had enjoy'd as their undoubted Right. However, there are some further Passages to be told relating to this Battle, which may possibly keep the former Account from being thought altogether incredible.

But before any thing be said in Defence of the one, or Answer to the other, there are certain Reports that have been current about *Lisbon* for some Years, which the Publick ought to be inform'd of, and that in consideration of the respect due to one of the *Conde's* Quality. These Reports are such, as if there be any Grounds for them, may make one suspect that the *Conde* hath been much injur'd in the Edition of his Works. It was the common talk in *Portugal* for several Years after the Publication of the first Volumn, that some other Person besides his Lordship, had a hand in Composing and Digesting his Papers; but then its true, that People differ'd much in their Opinions concerning the Person suppos'd to be thus Employ'd, some would have it, that it was a Person of Quality indeed, but one of the other Sex: Others were for a certain Priest whom the *Conde*, as they pretend, kept in his House for that purpose. I will not undertake for the Credit of either the one, or the other of these Reports, as being altogether ignorant on what grounds they were rais'd; but the Truth is, there is great cause why they that wish well to the *Conde's* Memory, should be glad they were believ'd, and some Passages in the Book it self makes one think that there may be something in them; the Language bestow'd by  
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the Author on those he calls Hereticks. Our King *Charles* the First for one, when he reflects on the Behaviour of that Blessed Martyr in his last Agony, is not common among Men of the *Conde's* Rank, but seems to come rather from the indiscreet Zeal of a Bigotted Lady, which is the only excuse its capable of. And as for the Account now under consideration, the Reader will soon perceive, that it favours strongly of something that I shall not name, but of which above all Men in the World, one would soonest suspect a *Romish* Priest. But to our Purpose.

King *Charles* the Second being informed of the wonderful Bravery of his Soldiers shown at this Battle of *Amexial*, was pleased out of his pure Liberality, to order Forty Thousand Crowns to be distributed amongst them. All that know any thing of the Character of that Prince, know that he was not to be easily imposed upon by sham Relations of this kind, and it was as apparent to the World, that his Exchequer did not overflow with Money, and consequently it must be some very important Action, that his Majesty thought fit to Reward with so large Donative. But was it possible for so understanding a Prince as King *Charles*, to think it an extraordinary thing for above 2000 Foot to make Resistance against a Body of 400 Horse? Yet this is all the part that our Author allows them in the Victory, only in conclusion he saith, that between Horse and Foot they lost about 50 Men, and that they and the *French* together behav'd themselves Valiantly. Our Horse lost many more, the greatest part of them being cut to pieces by their renewing the Charge so often as they did, while they were abandon'd by the *French*.

But

But if the *English* Foot did any thing to deserve the Notice of their King, it was on the Hill, against which they were at first Posted, and upon which the main Business of the Battle was transacted; for there by confession of all, the *Spaniards* were strongest and were first routed, and unless it were up thither, our Foot scarce moved from their first Station. That they did something worthy of Admiration, and upon this Place we may appeal to the Memories of all People of any Curiosity in *Portugal*; for the fighting over of this and some other of their Battles, was observed to be the main subject of Conversation amongst them for many Years afterwards, and their own Officers in the Army did not stick to acknowledge that the Crown of *Portugal* was preserv'd by what the *English* did in this; but I am writing in *England*, and shall content myself with such Evidence as is at hand. There are two Gentlemen in *London*, who commanded in this very Action, from whence the Author of *Portugal Restaurado* hath excluded our Country men; the one hath a Command in my Lord of *Oxford's* Regiment, the other is one of the Old Gentlemen in the *Charter-house*, who are so far from magnifying the Performance, that they contradict some circumstances in the Publick Accounts, that made it appear more hazardous and daring then it really was. They know very well that they were not only engaged on the foremention'd Hill, but that till the Action was over, there were none besides them; the former of these gives a very demonstrative Proof, that they could have no Assistants to accompany them at the beginning; for where they ascended the Hill, the nature of the Ground was such, that it would not admit of the whole Regiment (the Party consisted but of one) for which reason,

two



two Companies that were to the Left, were forc'd to return and joyn the other *English* Regiment that was drawn up in the second Line, and was commanded by Colonel *Person*. Its true, the *Three* Regiments might get up afterwards by other ways, but that they gave the *English* time enough to do their Business for them, will appear from what follows.

The *Conde Villa Flor* General of the *Portuguese* Army, when the *English* were first in Motion, was standing on the rising Ground, which he had possessed himself of in the Morning, that was opposite to, and a League distant from the Hill, we are speaking of. He seeing the *English* making up to the Enemy, and observing that contrary to the custom of the *Portugueses*, they did not so much as once fire all the way, was perswaded that they were running over to the Enemy, and instead of making Speeches, to animate his own Soldiers to follow them, was most bitterly exclaiming against the Hereticks, declaring, That he wash'd his Hands from having any thing to do in the Destruction of *Portugal*, or giving this occasion to the Hereticks to betray them; he was so fully satisfied, that this and no other was their Design, that all they did whilst in fight confirm'd him in his Opinion. Mr. *John Cargill* who was Chaplain to the Regiment, which the Gen. was crying out against, being near him at that time, and understanding what he meant, but not having *Portuguese* enough to speak to him, enquired for some body that could speak *Latin*, and having found one, desired him to acquaint his Excellency, that the *English* instead of being guilty of so vile a Treachery, as he was laying to their Charge, were doing him a most Important piece of Service; but the Gen. was not to be perswaded out of his Senses, his  
Eyes

Eyes and his Ears convincing him, that the Hereticks were a doing that which, as he said, he had all along expected from them. He had seen them running up to the Enemy, till they come so near, that they might shake Hands, without doing the least act of Hostility; he presently afterwards heard a Shout too loud, as he thought for so small a Company to give, and he could think no otherwise, but that they, and the *Spaniards* were Congratulating each other upon their Conjunction; as for their general Discharge it could be nothing else but a Salvo, they doubtless shooting their Bullets into the Air. Such were the Speeches that the *Conde de Villa Flor* made while our Soldiers were beating the *Spaniards* for him; he chang'd his Note indeed when he came afterwards to understand the matter, if it be true as 'tis reported, that he said, *Aquelles Herejes sam mel bores que os nossos Santos*; these Hereticks are better to us then our own Saints. But for that time, all the Chaplain could do in order to his Conviction, was to prevail, that a Messenger should be sent along with him, to see what the *English* were adoining upon the Hill: In their way they met Count *Schomberg*, whom Mr. *Cargill* acquainted with the Consternation in which he had left the General. The Count upon hearing this, Gallop'd towards the General, and as we may suppose, disabus'd him of his Error. The Count was then just come down from the Hill, for he having the Concern of the whole Battle upon him, found occasions for his Presence in every Part, and thought it necessary at this time among the *English*, lest their heat should carry them on too far in the Pursuit, whilst their Service was requir'd elsewhere. He had got up with them by that time they had follow'd the Enemy about a Mile; and though he  
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discovered by his Words, and much more in his Countenance, how well pleas'd a Man of his Character must be with so Gallant an Action; yet they were his own Regiment, and he check'd them for their too great Eagerness, telling them that the Enemies Horse were making towards their Country men below, and commanding the Officers to Rally their Men that were then all in Disorder in the Pursuit and Plunder. While his Orders were putting in Execution, he return'd to the Plain, and when he heard Mr. Cargil's Story, he rode up to quiet the General.

After the Conference between the Count and the General, we suppose it was that the *Three Portuguese* Regiments, headed by the two Commanders, had the Speech made to them, and were ordered to march up the Hill, for it was just at this time that the Enemies Horse attack'd an *English* Regiment in the manner describ'd by our Author, only he gives a wrong Name to it, for it was Colonel *Persons*; and this was just as Lieutenant Colonel *Hunt's* Men, who had nothing to do with any Horse at all, were leaving the Hill: For they having spent some time in getting into Rank and File, were making what hast they could to joyn their Country men, seeing four Squadrons of *Cuirassiers* charging them, who were so warmly receiv'd, that they soon wheel'd off, leaving behind them several of their Men and Horses upon the Ground.

That the *Portugueses* did not ascend this Hill before our Men had been there and done their work for them, will appear likewise from hence: The Author, saith that they began their March at the same time when seven other Regiments of Foot on the Right, assisted by five Squadrons of Horse, went to Attack the *Spaniards* on the other Hill, whom

whom after some Resistance they routed, taking at the same time the other four Pieces of Cannon ; but this was not attempted till after the *English* had been upon the steep Hill, and as a great Officer declared presently after, had not been done at all, were it not that the *Portugueses* were provok'd to it by what the *English* had done before.

However, while these seven Regiments assisted as they were with five Squadrons, notwithstanding the Advantage they had in Number and in the Place, by much more accessible then the other, as appears by their making use of Horse, were for some time put to it by the dispirited *Spaniards*. Our Author affirms, that the *three* Regiments knowing nothing of what the *English* had been doing ( for he mentions not a word of it, and has done his utmost to keep the Reader from suspecting any such thing ) mounted the most inaccessible Hill ; two of them directly Fronting it, the third wheeling about to the Right, all keeping their Fire as the *English* had done, till they gain'd the Top, which they all did at the same time when they make a general Discharge, and presently put the *Spaniards* into disorder, take their Guns which *Dom Luis de Menezes* turns upon them at the same instant, and put them intirely to the Rout. But where these things to do then, the *Conde de Villa Flor* must have been more in his Wits then to make such an unequal Division of his Forces, at least he would have dispos'd of them in another manner ; he would have order'd the seven Regiments to wheel about, in order to get up to this Place, where the Enemies chief strength lay, and had sent the *Three* where there was less Danger. Count *Scomberg* as least, who as brave a Soldier as he was, was so Prudent a General as to be always for making sure Work ; when  
he



he came up to the *English*, would never have taken them off from the Pursuit, could he have suspected that there would so sudden an occasion for doing over again all that they had done already. But the Truth is, there is so great an Agreement in some of the most material Passages in this Account, with what the *English* had been doing before, as 'tis related by our Officers, who never saw or heard of the 2d. Volum of *Portugal Restaurado*, that they all seem to speak of one and the same Action, so that there is cause to suspect that the *Conde* had given an Account of the Part, which our Country men had in the Battle, and that the Revisors of his Papers, or which is more probable, the *Inquisitors* when the Book passed through their Hands, out of their great kindness to the Hereticks, resolv'd to make a *Portuguese* Action of it, by changing the Names and Time: There are more Reasons for this Conjecture, then are necessary to be told at present. It is not denied but that the *Portugueses* might come upon the Place where the Action was perform'd, but it appears from what hath been said, that it could not be till the Business was in a manner done, and till the *English* were about leaving it, so that they might have spared the Officers pains whom they sent to view it, there being neither Horse nor Foot in any condition to withstand them. All the work that they had to do was, that usually done, a broken scatter'd and confounded Enemy, and which a Brave Man will never by his Good-will set his Hand to, which is downright killing.

The *English* being drawn off upon a Business that became them better, had not been long there after the Enemies Horse were repuls'd, but a Gentleman came Riding up to them from Count *Schomberg*

berg with Orders to Halt, adding that the *Portugueses* on the Right had attack'd and put to the Rout the *Spaniards* on the other Hill; sometime afterwards Count *Schomberg* himself came to them, and order'd them to joyn the Army that was going to incamp, it then growing Dusky. The Count staid with them part of the Night, telling the Officers many diverting Passages, and we may guess at whose Expence he diverted himself. Were that Great Man alive now, he had no doubt before this time receiv'd from *Portugal* a further occasion for his Mirth.

It is very likely that a Person unskill'd in Military Affairs must be guilty of many Errors in his manner of Relating this Transaction, but as to the substance of what hath told, he hath deliver'd it with that assurance which is Natural to one who himself believes what he saith, he having receiv'd the most material Passages from several Competent Witnesses, at several places and times, all agreeing with each other, and with what our Author himself relates, where he does not plainly do that which 'twould be a great indecency to Name. However, since many cannot have the like opportunities to inform themselves, he shall insist only upon this notorious Truth: That *at the Battle of Amexial, part of the English Foot without the Assistance of Portugueses or others, attack'd a great Body of Spaniards, posted upon a Hill by themselves thought inaccessible, Defeated and Routed them, taking their great Guns, their General's Tent and Baggage, and by this means occasion'd the Victory, which preserv'd Portugal from imminent Destruction.* This he believes to be so evident a Truth, that there's scarce a Person of any considerable Rank in the several Nations, that were concern'd in the



Transaction, but either is or may be convinc'd of it by Eye-Witnesses, those that have convers'd with them, Letters from Publick Ministers, or the like. And since on account of the suppos'd Author's Quality, the History of *Portugal Restaurado* is likely to be communicated to those that are in the Highest Stations, they who have prefix'd to it the Name of Dom *Luis de Menezes*, have done a great discredit to their Cause, and a most irreparable injury to the Memory of that great Man. For while such as have a true sense of Honour, shall think that Lord could be Author of a Peace, wherein so little Gratitude is express'd to the Savers of his Country, so much Artifice used to Defraud them of the Honour got while they were exposing their Lives, to rescue a distress'd People from Destruction, and all for no other apparent Reason, but our difference in Opinions: for there appears throughout the Work as great Partiality in favour of the *French*, as Prejudice against the *English*; How vile a thing must they take this ancient Popery to be, and how mischievous amongst the People, that can have so Maligant an Influence upon a Noble Mind! Certainty should Dom *Luis de Menezes* prove guilty of so disingenuous a Work. The General of the Artillery did not gain more Honour by his Sword, when he fought at the Battle of *Amexial*, then the *Conde de Ericeyra*, forfeited by his Pen when he Discribed it.

In this Battle, the *Spaniards*, as 'tis said, of 16 Thousand, had 4000 kill'd, and 6000 taken Prisoners, among whom were 2500 Wounded. The loss on the Victors side was inconsiderable; for among all the 8 Companies that were engag'd on the Hill, there were but 16 private Soldiers, and an Ensign kill'd. The *Portugueses* indeed while they were  
killing

killing the *Spanish* Foot; and fighting with the Horse, lost a thousand of their Men, and had 500 Wounded. The King of *Portugal* being very sensible of the great services done him by our Men, resolv'd to bestow a Largeſs upon them as a mark of his Esteem. His Gift was very Extraordinary in its kind : for it was three Pounds of Snuff to each Company; and not despicable for its Value, considering into how low a state *Portugal* had been reduced. But our Foot Soldiers had not such consideration in them; for when the Present was made in his Majesty's Name, they took it and toss'd it up into the Air out of Contempt and Disdain, and as they grew Angry, they began to remember, not their own services, but the loss of their Valiant Country men of the Horse Regiment, and to vent their Indignation that such Men that had been so often commanded on to the Slaughter, should be so basely abandon'd as they were. However, their Passions cool'd, and they came to themselves again upon the first occasion for Action; and though they were to fight for *Portugueses*, yet they behav'd themselves like *English Men* still, insomuch that the remainder of the present Campagne, and the two that follow'd, seem'd just the Reverse of those made by Don *John* the two foregoing Years, and the beginning of this. Soon after the Battle *Evora* was besieged and taken, and the next Year *Valença* in *Estremadura*, at both which Sieges the *English* signaliz'd themselves in their usual manner, of which several remarkable Instances might be given. In 1665. the *Spaniards* made shift to bring another Army into *Portugal*, under the Marquess *de Caracena*, to be serv'd at *Montes-claros*, in the same manner as Don *John's* had been at *Amexial*. In this Battle while a whole Regiment of *French* fairly



ly ran away, some particular Persons excepted, who came and Fought by our Country men, the *English*, as 'tis said, contributed no less to the Victory then they did in the former.

But an Account of these and some other very considerable Transactions would come with a much better Grace, from a *Portuguese* then an *English* Hand; to commemorate Benefits, being an Office properly belonging to the Receivers, wherefore it is to be hoped that some Person of that Generous Nation will save us the trouble. If any such shall undertake to write a Supplement to *Portugal Restaurado*, the *Portuguese Mercury* of July 1664. will furnish him with a Precedent in one particular Instance, that's not unworthy of his imitation, which since it proves the *Portugueses* to be not altogether insensible of kindnesses done them, and shows that they may be ready to make amends for such Omissions as we now complain of, I shall here set down, after having given a short Account of the occasion of it.

At the Siege of *Valença*, when the *Portuguese* Batteries had made a Breach in the Wall, wide enough for an Assault as 'twas judg'd by the general Officers. The Governor of the Place refusing to Capitulate, but on such Conditions, as the Besiegers thought unreasonable, it was resolv'd to attempt the Town by Storm; accordingly the two *English* Regiments were order'd to be in a readiness to mount the Breach, they being to begin the Assault at the firing of 6 Guns all at once. At the same time false Attacks were to be made in other Places, to divert the Besieged, and two hundred *French* with Scaling Ladders, were to endeavour to enter the Town where they found least Resistance. When the *English* were upon beginning the Assault, amidst  
vast

vast quantities of Artificial Fires, which the Besieged who were upon their Guard poured down upon them: These Fires happen'd to put the Fascines that were in the Besiegers Works below into a Flame, which the Marquess *de Merilva* then General, thought none so fit to extinguish as those that were to make the Diversion, and therefore gave Command that the 200 *French* should lay aside their scaling Ladders, and together with the rest that were to make the false Attacks, be employed in quenching the Fire. This being done, there was no body to renew their former Orders; the Marquess indeed had call'd them off from what they were about, but 'twas pretended that to command them on again, was none of his Business, but Count *Scomberg's*, against whom the Marquess at that time had a great Pegue; the Count was then taken up in giving necessary Directions for the Assault; in the mean time the Signal was given, the *English* mounted the Breach with great Resolution, as many of them as could stand in it, maintaining a very unequal Combat against the whole Force of the Town, while those that were below to support them, were gall'd by the Enemies shot on all sides, insomuch that when they retired at last, it was with the loss of about three hundred of their Companions. The place Capitulating soon after the next News-book gave an Account of the Siege, and just made mention of this Action, but in such a manner as to make People believe, that about Ten or a Dozen *English* men, and two *Portugueses* had through their own Rashness got themselves knock'd on the Head; for it was said that the information which had been given concerning the Breach, proved a Mistake, and so only the foresaid Number went very bravely up and were Kill'd, and that many were Wounded



although they did not come near the Breach.

This Account coming out while the Army was in Quarters, there being some of our Officers at that time at *Lisbon*, they resolved to wait upon the Secretary of State to demand Reparation for this Slur put upon them, and the Memory of their deceased Friends. They had all along observ'd the *Portugueses* to be free indeed of their Verbal Acknowledgements, but very backward in trusting them to Writing, and they were now at last so far incensed, that some of them did not spare to give *Antonio de Sousa* the Secretary very heard Names, even when they came within his Hearing. The Secretary to their surprize told them in their own Language, that some of them spoke broad *English*; however they insisting in their Demand of satisfaction for the Wrong that had been done them, he promised them they should have it; accordingly in the next *Mercury* appear'd this additional Account, which though it wants much of supplying the Defects of the former, yet as it must be acknowledg'd, abounds with very Honourable Testimonies of Gratitude.

*If Mercury were a Spaniard, he would make Relations of things that never were done, but being Portuguese, he does not mention those that were, unless it be upon exact Information. Since the last was Printed, he hath receiv'd Advice of certain Actions, worthy to be remembred, perform'd on our Side at the Enterprize of Valença, and it is but just that they should be related, that they be not deprived of that glorious Preconium which consecrates them to Eternity; and to such Honourable Guests as the English are, the first Place in this Relation is due.*

*Four Regiments were commanded to the Breach, two Portuguese and two English, one of these was*  
*Count*

Count Schombergs, the General of the Strangers, Commanded by his Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Hunt, the other was Colonel Henry Persons. They went to the Assault with the greatest Valour, twenty with an Ensign that carried the Coulers mounting the Breach, there not being room for more (but some of the Gentlemen under Named will tell that they had much more Company.) For as 'twas said in the last, the Breach was not yet compleated, it being a mistaken Information that was given concerning it. The Twenty seeing themselves unaccompanied, were not discouraged, but they all fought till they Died, the Combat was so furious, that the Coulers were burnt within the Breach. The two Regiments dispairing now of being able to enter, might have made their Retreat, but their great Courage would not suffer them; so they drew up at the foot of the Wall, and though they stood with their Breasts exposed, yet they fought to Admiration with those within, as if they had been on the Level in open Field; so 150 of them were kill'd, falling in the same order in which they stood. Among these were the said Lieutenant Colonel Hunt, and his Major John Whitmore, and John Fitz Patrick one of his Captains. Of Colonel Person's Regiment, William More, Gregory Noland and H. Traverse, Captains; there were killed besides these three Lieutenants, four Ensigns, and seven Sergeants, all worthy to live eternally in our Memory and our Gratitude, who with so much constancy expos'd their Lives for us. There were 300 Wounded, among these were Captain Francis Stanly, and Captain Nathaniel Hill of the foresaid first Regiment, and Captain Thomas Bonser, and Captain John Roch of the other, and without doubt they had all died, for they had no Covert, were it not that the General commanded them to Retreat, which



*they did in so gallant a manner, as rais'd a Noble Emulation in the whole Army. And since they that were neither Kill'd nor Wounded deserved no less Honour, by what they did, 'tis fit it should be known who they were. Of the first Regiment were Captains Francis More, William Love, Henry Boad and Andrew Maynard; of the second besides, Colonel Person were Lieutenant Colonel John Bellafise, Major John Rumsey, and Captains Richard Heafield, and Charles Langley. Certainly the English have behaved themselves with extraordinary Valour, and to great satisfaction since their coming to assist us in this War, and that which they are particularly esteem'd for, is their orderly carriage towards the Portuguese Peasants in their Quarters. On the second of this instant July, enter'd the Port of Lisbon 150 foot Soldiers arrived from England, which may in some measure repaire the Number of those that died in Valença, but not satisfie our Regret for the loss of such Companions.*

While the King of Englands Soldiers were fighting the Battles of *Portugal*, his Ministers were no less busy in securing the Effects of their Victories, by Negotiating the happy Peace, which that Nation now enjoys. King *Charles* had so great Commiseration for the *Portugueses* when in their most deplorable Condition, that Sir *Richard Fanshaw* his Ambassador at *Lisbon*, had Instructions from him in the beginning of the Year 1663. to interpose his good Offices, and use all possible means in order to make their Peace with the *Spaniard*; but the *Spaniard* was then Triumphant, and could think of nothing but making a quick dispatch of the War. When the Condition of *Portugal* began to mend, Sir *Richard* was sent upon the same Errand to *Madrid*, where 'tis true, he did not meet with that success

cess as was expected in his Embassy; for though upon Notice of his Arrival, such Preparations were made for his Reception, that the like had scarce ever been done for any Ambassador at that Court, yet upon his coming near *Madrid*, he found the Ministers mightily alter'd all of a sudden, insomuch that it was six Weeks before he made his Publick Entry; and the Court prov'd so untractable and unwilling to accommodate their Minds to their Fortunes, that it was two Years before he could gain any thing upon them, and when he had brought them to consent to a Treaty at last, his Negotiations did not keep Pace with the Victories obtain'd in *Portugal*, as appeared by the great disappointment he met with at *Salvaterra*, in the beginning of the Year 1666.

About the same time when our Ambassador was preparing for his Journey from *Madrid* to *Portugal*, Sir Robert Southwel was sent as Envoy from King Charles to this latter Court, to assist at the adjusting of the Peace between the two Crowns. Upon his Arrival in *Portugal*, he heard that Mr. de S. Romain had just got before him, which made him hasten to *Salvaterra*, where the Court then was. His Instructions were of a fresher Date than the Ambassadors, and consequently more accommodated to the state of the *Portuguese* Affairs at that time; but the Ambassador being not yet come, he found the Ministers unwilling to enter upon any Business before his Arrival, they expecting from him such Conditions as should give them intire satisfaction. The Ambassador not answering their Expectation, but on the contrary highly disgusting them with the Title of his Project of Peace, while Mr. de S. Romain was most profuse in his Promises of the mighty things that his Master would do for them,



them, the Treaty was wholly broke off for that time. However, Sir Robert Southwell applying himself to the *Conde de Castelmelhor*, the next Morning after the Council had sent that hasty Answer formerly mention'd, though he found him in a very great Heat, yet had the Address to pacifie him, and were it not that the Case was soon alter'd at *Madrid*, he might have brought the Treaty on again. The *Conde* expressed himself highly dissatisfied, that it should be thought that they would ever Treat with *Spain*, but upon equal terms, saying, That the *Spaniards* might perhaps conquer *Portugal*, but should never conquer the *Portugueses*, who for their parts would first leap into the Sea before they would come to any Accommodation, unless it were made between King and King. But the Envoy soon brought him to a Temper, by representing that what the Ambassador had offer'd, was only the first and rude Draught, or the Embrio as it were of a Treaty, so that there was little reason for him to be offended at the Inscription, which was a thing of no Consequence, it signifying nothing, what Name or Title was given it now, since *No body ever Christen'd a Child before it was Born*. The *Conde* as he was pleas'd with the conceit, so he would not deny but that it was apposite to the case in hand, and the Envoy having assur'd him, that his Instructions were ample enough to procure for *Portugal* all reasonable satisfaction; it was agreed that a new Project of a Treaty should be drawn up, which was done accordingly, by the Ambassador and the Envoy together. It contain'd the very same Articles which with some small alterations are now in force, between the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*. With this they both took a journey to *Madrid*, but the War newly broke out between *England* and  
France,

*France*, made that Court believe there was no such necessity as before of a Peace with *Portugal*, and so nothing could be done then for that Year.

By the beginning of the next Year, the *Portugueses* had concluded and sign'd their League with *France*. Its true, the *Conde de Castelmelhor* the supposed Author of that League on the *Portuguese* side, was the same Year removed from the Ministry and the Court, but this together with the other Changes that succeeded, was brought about by the Queen and her Party, who were more strongly engaged in the Interests of *France*; the Queen was so engag'd both by Birth and Inclination, and perhaps much more strongly, yet as she hoped to be countenanc'd by the *French* Court in what she had done, and was doing against her Husband, and in her further design of marrying with the Prince; so that the *French* Faction became now more predominant at Court then ever, and they seem'd there not only averse to all thoughts of a Peace, but afraid least any Overtures should come from *Castille*, to put the People in mind of it, wherefore the Frontiers were strictly guarded to hinder all Communication between the Subjects on both Kingdoms. The precaution perhaps was needless, for the *Spaniards* whether it was that their thoughts were wholly taken up with the War they had then with *France*, or that they hoped when a Peace was made with that Crown by the Intervention of other Princes, that they should be able after all to deal with *Portugal*, made no Advances towards a Treaty. This backwardness of the Parties concern'd was enough to make a Mediator out of love with his Office, and might have given any other Person then the Gentleman that then executed it, just cause to despair of doing any good upon them. However,



ever, the *English* Envoy was not Idle, to bring two Nations to a Peace, and make them Happy though against their Wills, after they had been destroying one another for seven and twenty Years together, was an Enterprize so glorious for a young Minister to effect, that one of Sir *Robert Southwell's* Character was not to be deter'd from the Attempt by any Difficulties; but in order to accomplish his Design, he was forc'd to go a great way about, it was in vain to think of succeeding by any direct Application to either Court, he was therefore fain to choose other Instruments to work with, and his choice was so good, and he manag'd them so well, that he wrought out his ends by them, by disposing both Courts for that Peace which was concluded in the beginning of the Year 1668. to the unspeakable satisfaction of the two Nations.

At the Battles of *Amexial* and *Montescloros*, several great Persons of the most Illustrious Houses in *Spain* were taken Prisoners, in the former *Don Gaspar de Haro* Marquess de *Eliche*, five times *Grande* of *Spain*, and Heir to the two great Favourites, the *Conde Duque de Olivares* and *Don Luis de Haro*, he being Son to the Latter. *Don Aniello de Gusman*, eldest Son of the Duke de *Medina de las Torres*, and *Don Juan Henriques Conde de Escalante*; at *Montescleros*, *Don Diego Correa* General of the Cavallery, and several other Persons of the first Quality. These Noblemen had ever since their Misfortune been confined to the Castle of *Lisbon*, where they were frequently visited by the *English* Envoy. They had all along express'd a great Esteem for our Nation, and would sometimes Treat our Officers amongst them, acknowledging them for their Conquerors, for they would by no means allow that Title to the *Portugueses*. The Envoy  
having

having contracted a more particular Acquaintance and Familiarity with them, thought they might be of great use to him in prevailing upon the Court of *Madrid* to renew the Treaty; he saw that their Prison was very uneasie to them, and that they were impatient to be at Liberty, of which they could have little hopes till the Peace was made, and they knew their nearest Relations to be Men of the greatest Power in *Spain*, who might by their Solicitation be prevail'd upon to think of a Peace. Coming once amongst them, he began to upbraid them in a familiar way, for their Remissness in not endeavouring to free themselves from their wretched Confinement, telling them that they seem'd to have a worse Opinion of their own Condition, then some of the Fathers had concerning the state of those in Hell; from whence as they thought there was some Redemption. But he found them despairing of being ever able to regain their Liberty; so far were they from entertaining any hopes of it, that they told him, if *Origen* had been a *Spaniard*, he had never been so favourable in his Opinion; however, the Envoy to show that he did not advise them to Impossibilities, undertook to overcome the greatest Difficulty, and make way for a free intercourse between them and their Friends. This offer encourag'd them to write their Minds to their Relations in *Spain*, in order to set them at Work to bring on the Treaty of Peace again. They delivered their Letters to the Envoy, who so manag'd the matter, that the Governour of *Elvas*, one of his particular Acquaintance, though wholly ignorant of the Design, conveyed the Pacquet to a Servant of one of these Noblemen, who was employed on the Frontiers to provide him with Necessaries. But to get Answers to their Letters, which they could not well expect



expect by the same way, the Envoy took another Course. He had at that time an *English* Frigate watching for him in the River, but he finding his Negotiations to be now in a fair way towards a happy Conclusion, instead of imbarcking for *England*, order'd the Captain to make a Voyage to *Cadiz*, sending on board him a Servant of his, who had been frequently employed in Messages of a like Nature, with another Pacquet from the *Spanish* Noblemen, who arriving at *Cadiz* rode Post to *Madrid*, where the Letters he brought with him soon produc'd their desired Effect.

Whilst the *English* Envoy was thus contriving ways to bring the Court of *Spain* to sue for a Peace, he had a harder Game to play still, which was to dispose that of *Portugal* to a Compliance, it was to no purpose for him to motion the matter to that Court, at a time when it was become wholly *French*. As for the Nobility that were then uppermost, they were either engaged in the Queen's Party, or had Commands in the Army, which made it to be for their Interest to have the War continue. But then there was at the same time in *Portugal* a Power superior to both these, and he thought fit in this case of necessity to serve himself of that, for the common Good of all.

The People ever since the Revolt from *Spain*, had been in Possession of an absolute kind of Sovereignty, and had on several occasions exercised the same over those in Authority without Exception; as all the late Turns and Changes in the State had been brought about by their means, they pulling down and setting up as they pleased, so they kept those they placed in the Government in subjection to their Wills. Their Power was never more uncontrollable, then whilst they were deposing King *Alfonso*,  
and

and placing Prince *Pedero* in his room, but had not yet fixt him in the Government. They were at that time in a great Ferment, and according as their Motions were directed by such as had the Art to manage them, they were like to bear down all before them: Now while the greatest Men in the Kingdom were tampering with them, that by their means they might destroy one another, the Envoy did not think it beneath him to be dealing with them too, in order to preserve the whole Nation; to this end he thought the fittest Instrment he could make use of, was the *Juis do Povo*, and therefore he took Acquaintance with him, and to keep him well affected, gave Orders that the *Juis* should have such Work as there was occasion for in the House, that was proper for one of his Calling, and he would sometimes condescend himself to Discourse the Man, encouraging him to contribute on his part by that great Authority which belong'd to his Office towards settling the Nation, by an Advantagious and Honourable Peace. The *Juis do Povo* is accounted the chief Magistrate of *Lisbon*, his Office somewhat resembling that of a Mayor; he is not indeed of equal Dignity with my Lord Mayor of *London*, which perhaps may be the reason why he hath a much greater Power; for he must be of one of the meanest Hardicraft Trades, whereby he is more fitly qualified to become the Peoples Head, and he does not think himself too good to become the Ring-leader in Popular Commotions, acting as it were the part of a *Massaniello* by Law. Great things are told concerning those that bore this Office during the War; King *John* the 4<sup>th</sup>. being observed to be a little remiss in the Affairs of Government, and too intent  
upon



upon his Sports; 'tis reported that he once going to ride out into the Country to Hunt, the *Juis do Povo* laid hands on the Reigns of his Horses Bridle, and oblig'd his Majesty to stay at home and mind his Business; nor will this seem strange if his Power were so great as they say it is to this Day, that he could at a Words speaking raise the whole *Posse* of the Commonalty. The Envoy found the Person that was then in Place to be an honest well meaning Man, and ready to concur with him in his Design, on which, as one of a moderate Capacity might easily be made to understand, the Happiness of his Country depended; and this Man showed himself so very Zealous and Industrious to promote it, that his Picture is to be seen at this Day amongst theirs who were more immediately concern'd in making the Peace. The Envoy took care likewise to have his Party amongst the Peoples Representatives in *Cortes*, which were assembled some time after *Alfonso* had been Deposed; his Table was open for the Members, and he had his Cabals with them, the Effects whereof appear'd as soon as the Business came under Debate.

The Letters of the *Spanish* Noblemen were answer'd with Powers from the Queen Regent to the Marquess *de Eliche*, to enter upon a Treaty with the Prince of *Portugal*, to the intire satisfaction of that Kingdom. Letters to this purpose were no sooner come, but care was taken to have the Contents of them publish'd every where both in City and Country; the News was welcomed by the People, who now hoped to see a speedy end of their Miseries, with such Publick Demonstrations of Joys as it deserv'd, which the Court in vain laboured to suppress.

Mr.

Mr. *de S. Romain* had now great occasion to bestir himself, but he found the People so prepossessed already, that all his Artifices were like to have no effect upon them; he therefore sets forth a Memorial directed to the Prince, the Ministers, and the *Cortesoens*, or Members of *Cortes*, wherein he Declares: "That the Prince  
" could not break the League with *France*, and  
" consequently not make Peace with *Spain* both,  
" because in taking the Government into his  
" hands, he took upon himself the Obligations  
" of the Crown to maintain the Treaty made be-  
" tween his Brother and the King of *Spain*, and  
" in consideration of the great Benefits confer'd  
" on *Portugal*, by *His Most Christian Majesty*,  
" who had given innumerable Demonstrations of  
" his Friendship to that Kingdom, having spent  
" his Treasures and the Blood of his Subjects in  
" its Defenec; and likewise because it was impossible  
" for an advantageous Peace with *Spain*, to be  
" made with security in the form Propos'd, since  
" the Intervention of the King of *France* was  
" wanting, wherein alone consisted the certainty,  
" that the Promises and Conditions of the Trea-  
" ty should be kept; That the *Castillians* whilst  
" they dreaded the Armies of *France* and *Por-  
" tugal*, would indeed to free themselves from  
" the Danger they were in, submit to any Terms  
" that the Prince as a Conqueror should impose.  
" But a few days of Delay could be no loss in  
" this Conjecture, and since *France* was not far  
" off, he advis'd the Prince to send thither a  
" Copy of the *Spanish* Proposals, and when he  
" had received an Answer from thence, he might  
" then consult what was most conducive to his



" Subject's Good. As for the *Spaniards*, they  
 " minded nothing but their own Interests, and  
 " as they had shown upon several Occasions, would  
 " never stand to the Treaty, but while they were  
 " under an Impossibility to carry on the War.  
 " That their Ancient and inbred Hatred was now  
 " mightily increased by the Miseries which the  
 " Valient *Portugueses* had brought upon them,  
 " and therefore they in all future Ages, would  
 " be endeavouring either by Force, or Art, or  
 " Alliances, to reunite the Crown of *Portu-*  
 " *gal* to *Castille*, and all this in order to take  
 " their Revenge in so cruel a manner, as to de-  
 " stroy the very Memory of the Nobility, by scat-  
 " tering over the face of the Earth, such of them  
 " as should escape their Tortures and Poisons,  
 " and to impoverish the People to that Degree,  
 " that they should have nothing left to enable  
 " them any more, to shake off their heavy and  
 " Tyrannical Yoke.

The Marquess *de Eliche* who had his Agents a-  
 broad, was one of the first that got a sight of this  
 Memorial, and he immediately drew up an An-  
 swer to it, which he took care to have dispers'd  
 throughout the Kingdom. In it he sets forth,  
 " That the *French* Artifices to augment their  
 " own Power by weakning their Neighbours were  
 " Notorious to the World, of which there was  
 " no need to go far for a Proof, none doubt-  
 " ing but that they had succour'd *Portugal* in  
 " this last War, to the end only that by other  
 " Mens Hands they might beat down the for-  
 " midable Power of *Castille*, in order to become  
 " themselves too strong for both Parties. That  
 " this and no other was their Design, was de-  
 " monstrated

“monstrated by their Proceedings after the Peace  
“made at the *Pirenees*, where the King of *France* in  
“Person gave his Word to King *Philip* the 4<sup>th</sup>.  
“and confirm’d the same in the Capitulations of  
“Marriage between him and that King’s Daugh-  
“ter, that he would give no Succours to *Por-*  
“*tugal* against *Castille*, and at the same time af-  
“fisted that Kingdom with Money, Generals,  
“Officers and Soldiers, that having obtain’d an  
“Advantagious Match with the Princess of *Spain*  
“under an Obligation, containing the most bind-  
“ing Clauses the Law could afford, and con-  
“firm’d with the most dreadful Oaths, that  
“neither he nor his Successors would make any  
“claim of Inheritance to the Kingdoms or Domi-  
“nions of *Castille*, he was now contrary to  
“his Promise, and the Treaty making War a-  
“gainst that Monarchy. That he laboured to ob-  
“struct the Peace with *Portugal*, in order to di-  
“vide the Forces of *Spain*, that he might the  
“more easily seize upon that Crown, in case  
“the Succession should fail; That he might with  
“the same injustice attempt the Conquest of  
“*Portugal*, under the same Pretext that he u-  
“sed in breaking with *Spain*, viz. its not be-  
“ing in his Power to Defraude his Successors  
“of their Right. That though he now oppos’d  
“King *Philip*’s Right to that Crown, he would  
“doubtless make use of it hereafter as a Colour  
“for his unjust Invasion. That the Prince did  
“not make the League with *France*, which as  
“’twas Notorious, was clapt up upon some se-  
“cret Designs without the Peoples consent. That  
“if the King of *France* could make War upon  
“*Castille*, on pretence of his want of Power to



“deprive his Heirs of the Succession belonging  
 “to them, with how much greater Reason was  
 “the Prince oblig’d not to deny his People the  
 “Blessings of an Advantageous and Honourable  
 “Peace, after a cruel War of Seven and Twen-  
 “ty Years, which had hitherto been carried on  
 “for that end only? That if Self-defence made  
 “the War be hitherto accounted Just, yet when  
 “it could be continued upon no other Pretence,  
 “then the Conquest of other Kingdoms, to which  
 “neither *Portugal* nor *France* had any Right, it  
 “would become unjust, displeasing to God, and  
 “consequently unprosperous. In Conclusion, he  
 “declared that his Powers were restrained to a  
 “limited time, for that Spring coming on, the  
 “Queen Regent was about disposing of her  
 “Forces as she should judge convenient, where-  
 “fore he desired that the Prince would appoint  
 “Persons to confer with him, about the Treaty  
 “of Peace, or else he should look upon himself  
 “as disingag’d from his Commission, leaving up-  
 “on the Prince’s Conscience, all the Mischiefs  
 “of the War, with the Damages and Incon-  
 “veniencies sustain’d by the Prisoners, who fill-  
 “ed the Gaols at that time.

In this Paper Combat the *Spaniards* had all  
 the Advantage they could desire, unless it were  
 among such as either out of Interest or for  
 some secret Reasons, were for having the  
 War continue. The Officers of the Army would  
 fain have had it prosecuted with Vigour, that  
*Portugal* by the Conquest of the Neighbouring  
 Kingdoms, might reimburse it self for the dam-  
 ages it had sustained in the Sixty Years of the  
*Spanish* Usurpation. The Ecclesiasticks, the *Cor-*  
*tesoens*

*tesoens*, and the People were more Loud and Clamorous for a Peace, as thinking the War would become Unjust if it continued any longer, it being the common Voice to be heard at that time, from the Pulpits, and in the Streets, that *Castille* might have some Pretensions upon *Portugal*, but *Portugal* could have none upon *Castille*. But the Court held out still, as being or seeming at least to be, utterly against the Peace, and that possibly because the Prince thought himself oblig'd by the *French* League; perhaps the Queen might be afraid to disoblige *France* by consenting to the Peace, while the Cause of her Divorce and of her intended second Marriage was depending before that Court; for should that Court be dissatisfied with her Conduct, who could tell, but that *Monsieur de Lionne* might never have found out the Clause in the Pope's Bull, which at last inabled Cardinal *Vendome* to grant the Dispensation?

This Business was hotly debated on both sides, when the Earl of *Sandwich* unexpectedly arrived at *Lisbon* from *Madrid*, with full Power from the King of *England*, and the Queen Regent of *Spain* to conclude the Peace. His Excellency by his Presence and Authority, soon put an end to the Dispute, for by this time, they that were for the Treaty, had made their Party so strong, that nothing could withstand them; the *Cortes* plyed the Prince with three several Addresses for a Peace, and upon his demurring, to give his Answer. The *Juis do Povo* came and peremptorily demanded his Consent. The *Juis* waited likewise on the Earl, and upon his Knees assured his Excellency of the Favour and Protection



tection of the People, in all his Proceedings, and as 'tis said, he went to the *French* Ambassador likewise, to assure him, that in case he did any thing to obstruct the Peace, he must expect to have his House pulled down about his Ears. In short, the Earl of *Sandwich* by his prudent Management, so order'd the Matter, that in a very few daies all things were adjusted; for his Powers given him at *Madrid*, bear Date the Fifth of *January*, 1668. and the Peace was Concluded and Sign'd the Thirteenth of *February* following, to the unspeakable Joy of the Parties concern'd. By this Peace the *Portugueses* became an Independant People, and were restored to the same Condition with respect to *Spain*, as they had been in under the most flourishing Reigns of their former Kings; at the same time when their Deliverance from the *Spanish* Yoke was compleated, they were set at liberty likewise from the *French* League, which might have proved the more intolerable Bondage of the two, and all this without being brought under any Engagements to their Deliverers, the obligations of Gratitude excepted: Those indeed are the strongest of all other Tyes upon generous Minds, but then they are often complied with by a bare Acknowledgment of the Benefits receiv'd.

Having mention'd the Benefits conferr'd on the *Portuguese* Nation by ours, it may be expected that an Account should be given of those receiv'd from them. It must be acknowledg'd to their Honour, that on several occasions they show'd a generous concern for our Kings *Charles* the First and Second in their Distress, doing them many good Offices by their Ministers, both  
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in *England* and elsewhere, and that they gave a Hospitable Reception to the Princes *Robert* and *Maurice* in their Port of *Lisbon*, though they were like to suffer no small Damage thereby themselves; the Remembrance of which things proved no doubt a great Motive to King *Charles* the Second, to take them into his Protection. But as to Returns in Kind, thanks be to God, our Nation was never in a condition to need them, and the Forces of *Portugal* are so limited, that little can be expected from thence, upon any the most urgent Occasion. Their Concurrence indeed might have serv'd to a good purpose, in the Leagues that have been made of late against the common Enemy, if on no other account, but the conveniency of their Habours, which in a War by Sea, must have been of a mighty Advantage to the side they adhered to: But they thought it was for their Interest all along to continue Neuters, and our Princes have not thought fit to oblige them to Declare, though in Defence of the common Liberty, in which they had as great a concern as others. We suffered them to enjoy the Benefit of Trade, which we lost our selves, while we were engaged in their Defence; we did not make the least offer to compel them to take Party while they were wholly at our Discretion, we being Lords of all the Seas about them, the Ocean and the Mediterranean, as well as our own Channel. Such a compulsion would have been to destroy our own Gift, and take from them that Independency we had maintain'd them in. It is the Property of another Monarch to treat as his Vassals such Sovereigns as he takes into his his Protection;



to get them into his Power, by assisting them, and then to serve himself of them in working out the Ruin of their Neighbours, and their own among the rest, whereas our Princes have taken another Course, and far from making their Benefits uneasy to the Receivers, or snares to entrap them withal, have treated them as Sovereigns whom they raised to their own Level; and therefore notwithstanding their advantage of so much greater Power, they have abstain'd from every thing that carried the least appearance of Constraint, as thinking it beneath themselves to require such a Submission even to their just demands, as might lessen the Majesty of a Crown'd Head.

Such a generous Proceeding must needs have wrought very much upon a Prince of so great a Soul, as his *Portuguese* Majesty is known to have, and laid stronger Obligations upon him than all other Considerations could have done; and consequently if the *English* have not met with a suitable Treatment in his Kingdom, the Fault ought to be laid wholly on his Ministers and Inferior Officers. If the Privileges of our Countrymen residing in *Portugal*, granted and confirmed by so many of his Royal Ancestors, and ratified by Solemn Treaties, have of late Years been either manifestly violated, or eluded by all the little Arts of *Chicane*, if during the last War his Maritime Towns that were almost the only Ports in Christendom left free and exempt from our Dominion, became Nests for *French* privateers, and *Irish* Pyrates, if by Reason of our Religious observation of the Peace with *Portugal*, these Corsairs found a safer retreat at *Lisbon*, *O Porto*, and *Faro*, than at *Merseilles*,  
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St. Maloes, or Dunkirk, and our Merchant Fleets were more infested upon the *Portuguese* Coasts than those of *France*, or in the *Straights*, if our Ships taken under their Castles, and in their Rivers, were carried up and dispos'd of in sight of the King's Palace; whereas by an express Article in our Capitulations, all *English* Ships by whomsoever taken, when brought into any of the *Portuguese* Dominions, were to be restored to the right Owners, and lastly, if on these and all other occasions, a greater regard was had to the *French* Menaces, when they could do nothing else but threaten, than to our Complaints, while we had the Remedy in our own hands; if any of these things were so, the Blame ought surely to be laid wholly upon the Ministers, to whom the King as hath been said, defers so much in the management of Affairs, a Prince of his *Portuguese* Majesties Honour, Justice and Prudence, cannot be supposed to have had any part in such unaccountable Proceedings; but whether any of these things were so, it belongs to the Persons more nearly concern'd to make out. In matters which fall more immediately under the common observation our *English* Traders residing in that Kingdom, have great cause to be satisfy'd with the *Portuguese* Nation, where they are treated with all the Respect and Civility they can look for, by a People who cannot be insensible of the great Advantage that our Trade brings to their Contry; for we furnish them with Necessaries of Life, in exchange for Supplies to our Luxury: We Cloath them with our Woollen Manufactures, and Feed them in a great Measure with our Fish from *Newfoundland*, and in Exchange for these Commodities,



dities, we rid the Country of their Wines ( and that at excessive Rates ) which all of the wiser and better sort among them think much better parted with at any rate, than kept at home, Nature having provided them a more wholesome and agreeable Liquor. But it is not only the Benefit of Trade that recommends our Countrymen to the *Portugueses*, their fair and generous Dealing in their Commerce, used to gain them such Credit, that *Palavra de hum Ingrez*, the Word of an *English* Man hath been taken for the best Security; its true, that in the Inland Parts, the horrid Ideas the People had of Hereticks, as they take us to be, made them look upon our Countrymen as a strange sort of Monsters, insomuch that when our little Army first march'd into the Country, the Peasants instead of blessing them as their Deliverers, would watch for opportunities to do a mischief to the Straglers; but the first Campagne ended, they found them to be quite another sort of Creatures than they had imagined, and began not only to take them for Men, but for something more, finding them to be as Peaceable and Gentle in their Quarters, as they had been Fierce in the Field; for instead of Domineering over their Landlords, and playing the Tyrants as the *French* men did, our Soldiers spent their time in serving the People they were quarter'd upon, and doing any Work that was needful in the Family; such an obliging Carriage in Men, whose Bravery they had so much cause to admire, so alter'd their Sentiments concerning these Hereticks, that should an *English* man travel in the most unfrequented Parts of the Country, where the *English* Name hath been scarce heard of, either before or since the War, he shall  
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be received and careſs'd with all the welcome the poor People can make, when a *French* man ſhall run the Riſque of being knock'd o'the Head. I have mention'd this matter the rather, becauſe the Manners of our Countrymen ſeem to be ſo much changed of late Years, that perhaps it will be as great News to them, as any thing I have related, for poſſibly the People of *Ireland* and *Flanders* may differ much from the *Portugueſes* in their Opinion concerning our *English* Soldiery.

The common People about the City are not obſerved to be guilty of any Rudeneſs towards the *English*, on account of their Religion; ſuch as have had cauſe to think themſelves moſt expoſed to affronts on this occaſion, having never met with any, which in my Opinion, ought in Juſtice to be aſcribed to the Humanity of the *Portugueſe* Nation, after they have been a little converſant with us, as well as to the Prudence of the Government. It is true, that opprobrious Language to Strangers is ſo ſeverely prohibited, that upon complaint made againſt any that ſhall call an *English* man Heretick, no puniſhment ſhort of Death, or the Gallies, will be thought too great for the Offence. We had like to have ſeen the laſt Year an example of the King's Juſtice upon an Offender of this ſort; a certain Lawyer in his Pleadings, was pleaſed to beſtow upon the *English*, the Titles of Hereticks, Lutherans, Schiſmaticks, Excommunicated Perſons, &c. Complaint hereof being made to His Maſteſty, he gave command that the Lawyer ſhould be Impriſoned, in order to his further Chaſtiſement; the Man took Sanctuary in the Church, but it was reſolved in Council, that his Crime was of that Nature, that the Church could not protect him, and  
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an Order was given out to force him thence, but the Criminal as I have been told since died soon after, and so put a stop to further Proceedings. And this makes me almost astonished at the Hardiness of the Inquisitors, who in the preceding Year, viz. 1697. took an occasion to publish an Edict in all Churches, which is to be seen at this day on most of the Church Doors. ( I am sure it was not long ago, and is like to remain for many Years as other Orders of the Inquisition that stand by it have done, it being Excommunication to take them down ) wherein the *English* in general are Stigmatized, not only for Hereticks, but for Usurpers likewise; but this is an Offence of too heinous a Nature for a private Person to animadvert upon, and therefore I shall content my self with having only mention'd it.

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